

Document-ID: vdx_1387079

Patron:

Note:

NOTICE:

Pages: 50 Printed: 11-11-08 11:09:27

Sender: The University of Sydney Library - ILL Fisher Library

University of Sydney - NMQU

1 of 9

Date and Time : 2008-11-07 12:01:20.0

ILL NO. : 6305274

TGQ : 1387079

Service type : Copy

Service Level : Core

Call no. : Vol. 1 (1959)- 271.05/1 F.RL

Expiry Date : 21/11/2008
00:00

Author : Montserrat (Abbey)

Title : Studia monastica.

Publisher : Abadía de Montserrat.

Place of Publication : Barcelona

Volume/Issue : 10

Date of part publication : 1968

Pagination : 7-55

Author of Chapter/Article/Paper : Juana O.S.B. Raasch

Title of Chapter/Article/Paper : The monastic concept of purity of heart and its sources (V)

Additional : LCN: 62036992

ISSN : 0039-3258

Notes : Abbreviated Title: Stud. monast.; Key Title: Studia monastica

Copyright Declaration : S49; This copy is required for the purpose of research or study, will not be used for any other purpose, and has not previously been supplied to me by an officer of the library

Requester Symbol : NLA:NMQU

REQUESTER : NMQU / Payments

Addressee : ARIEL: 137.111.128.64 EMAIL: ill@library.mq.edu.au

Org, Dept, Building : Document Supply Unit, Library, Macquarie University

DocStore : No-Reply@clic.edu.au

Region : N.S.W.

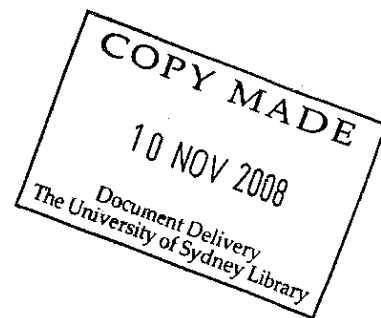
Postcode : 2109

Requested Delivery method : Electronic Mail

Recip Agree : No

Maximum Cost : 55

FH 271.05 1



Though Philo is out of place here chronologically, he fits very well ideologically, as he played a role of primary importance in the development of Alexandrian *katharsis*.

I. PHILO

In the first two articles of this series the Christian concept of purity of heart as found in the New Testament and in the Christian writings of the second and third centuries was discovered to be that of an absence of sin and evil in the whole person, but especially in the inner thoughts, intentions, desires, and dispositions. Though at first no theological system existed to interrelate the various «themes» and tenets of Christian spirituality, this purity of heart was always considered a requisite for intimacy with God, knowledge of God, of seeing God «with the eyes of the heart» (the earliest form of the «doctrine of the spiritual senses»), and some Hellenistically influenced writers of the second century, particularly Theophilus of Antioch, made the obvious synthesis between Mt. 5, 8, and Platonist *katharsis*, a purification undertaken as a requisite for the attainment of contemplation of God. Nowhere, however, was the doctrine of *katharsis* more important or more fully developed than in the center of Hellenistic culture, Alexandria.

Katharsis as a Basic Scheme for All the Alexandrians

THE MONASTIC CONCEPT OF PURITY OF HEART AND ITS SOURCES III. PHILO, CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA, AND ORIGEN

Document Delivery
The University of Sydney Library

10 NOV 2008

COPY MADE

Heart

When commenting on Scriptural passages containing the word *kardia*, Philo interprets it allegorically either as the *psyche*, the soul, or as the *nous hegemonikos* or *exaltetos*, the *hegemonikon*, or the *dianoia*, the reasoning power. Otherwise he normally avoids the use of the word in anything but the physical sense.¹

Katharsis for Philo

His idea of mental and moral purification is based on a Platonic-Stoic opposition between this power, the *noeton*, the heavenly man, created in the image of the Logos and containing the *pneuma* breathed into it by God at the time of creation, and the *astheton*, or animal mind, the earthly man, which is really sensation² and is the source of the passions and all evil. Thus the Jewish opposition of the two spirits and the two yezeres is combined with the Platonic dualism of matter and spirit. *Katharsis* is the process by which the highest of the three elements that make up man, the *nous*, overcomes the lowest, the *soma*, with the *psyche* in the middle as the battleground.³ It is interesting that in describing this process Philo makes use of the term *logismoi*, a Biblical term for thoughts, used by the Stoics in the singular, *logismos*, as another word for the *hegemonikon*.

He speaks of the separation and marriage of the thoughts especially in the *Questions on Genesis*, a work from which Origen drew heavily in composing his own *Homilies on Genesis*, where he too discusses such topics as the separation of the thoughts from above from those from below, the heavenly man created in the image of God, marriage of the *nous* and the *psyche*, etc. In a passage from the *Questions on Genesis* Philo uses the term «thoughts» in a general sense for any function of the soul or body:

«To the various parts of the soul are thoughts related as inhabitants as follows. To the rational [part are related thoughts] pertaining to wisdom and folly; to the irascible [are related thoughts] pertaining to moderation and licentiousness; to the nutritive [are related

¹ *Questions in Genesis*, 3, 48, R. Marcus, ed. and trans. (Loeb Library; New York, Harvard, 1952, Suppl. 1), pp. 245 and 71. Cf. J. BARNES, «Kapbia», *Septuaginta, hellenistisches und rabbinisches Judentum*, in *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum N.T.*, III, pp. 613-614.
² *De leg. all.*, 2, 3, 6, F. H. COLSON and G. H. WHITAKER, ed. and trans. (Loeb Library, p. 229. Cf. B. STEGMAN, *Christ, the «Man from Heaven»* (New Testament Studies, 6; Washington, Catholic University, 1927), p. 37.
³ *Quaest. in Gen.*, 2, 29 (Loeb Library, Suppl. 1), pp. 107-108.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 4, 186, pp. 469-4.
⁵ *De ebrietate*, 8, 28, F. p. 332; cf. *De leg. all.*, 3, 84.
⁶ *De ebrietate*, 16, 70 (Loeb Library, p. 49).
⁷ *Quaest. in Gen.*, 2, 49.
⁸ *Ibid.*, 4, 1 (Loeb Library, p. 49).

through Philo or by m about in this passage. to the *phantasia* or se great stress on this I harm to the soul.⁸ I a door-keeper lest any «And it is fitting for t what monastic writer Concretely, this s instead of victory.⁷ ranks and watch out sense. For it is a th but (not join) with a father should join its sins, man should j parts of the soul. «W of the *nous hegemoni* ing of the soul is brov fication involves a sepe from that which is de we shall separate thal good and evil though The first stage of destroy.⁵ us, which, since they thoughts (*logismoi*) from the *De ebrietate* the term can be foun lost and the work is be sage, since all but a st *Logismoi* is suppli are attached to th itself has its own enjoyment and ne thoughts] which i

thoughts] which in accordance with the several senses seek to find enjoyment and new sensual pleasures. But the place of the hedge itself has its own men, [namely] the thoughts which depend on and are attached to the body and external things.⁴ Wherefore they seek to corrupt and stain its unstained, holy and pure nature.⁵

Logismoi is supplied by the editor as a reconstruction in this passage, since all but a small portion of the original Greek text has been lost and the work is best preserved in the Armenian version. However, the term can be found throughout Philo's works, as in this passage from the *De ebrietate*: «For there are many faulty and blameable thoughts (*logismoi*) lurking in us and taking up their abode within us, which, since they are incurable, it is necessary to eradicate and destroy.»⁶

The first stage of the spiritual combat is the separation of the good and evil thoughts. «We shall slay... the body; that is to say, we shall separate that which is devoted to the passions and mortal from that which is devoted to virtue and divine.»⁶ Just as ritual purification involves a separation of the clean from the unclean, the cleansing of the soul is brought about by the division of the male thoughts of the *nous hegemonikos* from the female impulses of the irrational parts of the soul. «When the soul is about to wash off and cleanse its sins, man should join with man, that is, the sovereign mind like a father should join with its particular thoughts as with its sons, but (not join) with any of the female sex, that is, what belongs to sense. For it is a time of war, in which one must separate one's ranks and watch out lest they be mixed up and bring about defeat instead of victory.»⁷

Concretely, this separation from the thoughts of sense means what monastic writers called the «custody of the heart» or *nepsis*: «And it is fitting for the virtuous reason to sit by the senses and be a door-keeper lest anything harmful slip within and be the cause of harm to the soul.»⁸ This is the language of Stoicism, which placed great stress on this practice — or theory —, especially with respect to the *phantasiai* or sense-impressions, which are what Philo is writing about in this passage. It seems likely that this Stoic concept, whether through Philo or by means of other channels, passed into the monastic

⁴ *Ibid.*, 4, 186, pp. 469-470.
⁵ *De ebrietate*, 8, 28, F. H. Colson and G. H. Whitaker, ed. and trans. (Loeb Library, 3), p. 332; cf. *De leg. alt.*, 3, 84, 239 (Loeb Library), p. 463.
⁶ *De ebrietate*, 16, 70 (Loeb Library), p. 353.
⁷ *Quaest. in Gen.*, 2, 49 (Loeb Library), p. 130.
⁸ *Ibid.*, 4, 1 (Loeb Library), p. 269.

s containing the word
 is the *psyche*, the soul,
 e *hegemonikon*, or the
 normally avoids the use

is based on a Platonic-
 on, the heavenly man,
 the *pneuma* breathed
 e *astheton*, or animal
 or? and is the source
 opposition of the two
 Platonic dualism of
 which the highest of the
 overcomes the lowest,
 the battleground? It is
 to makes use of the
 used by the Stoics in
hegemonikon.

oughts» in a general
 a passage from the
 in the image of God,
 rights from above from
 sts, where he too dis-
 a which Origen drew
 of the thoughts espe-
hegemonikon.

(Loeb Library; New York,
 and trans. (Loeb Library,
 Testament Studies, 6; Wa-
 pp. 613-614.

doctrine of the custody of the heart. It is possible that Philo's use of the word *logismos* for impulses arising from any part of the soul or body and as evil influences which must be eradicated indicates a comparable Stoic use of the same term, since according to one authority, «Philo is of... direct service to the study of Stoicism, because he had so completely absorbed the system that, where other authorities fail us, we may often trust to his expositions for a knowledge of details of the Stoic system.»⁹ On the other hand, he may very well have taken the word from the Septuagint and from other Jewish sources and combined it with Greek philosophical notions, and this seems to be the more probable origin of his use of the term. At any rate, it can safely be said that the monastic notion of «evil thoughts» is essentially Biblical and Judaeo-Christian, and that any Stoic contribution to it was slight.

Philo also uses the term «vain thoughts,» *hoi kenoi logismoi*, but still in the sense in which it is used in the Bible rather than in the monastic sense of distractions or discursive thoughts tinged with images from the senses which interfere with pure mystical prayer. This notion is to be found in Philo's discussion of *pistis*, faith, in the *De leg. all.* 3, 228 ff., which he treats in a non-Platonic way. True *dogma* is faith in God, false *dogma* is faith in «vain thoughts» (229). Good men trust God; other men trust in their own «uncertain thoughts (*logismoi*) and unstable imaginings (*eikasiai*)» (228); that is, in their senses or their reason. This in the Biblical concept that «The Lord knows the thoughts of men and that they are vain» (Ps. 93 [94], 11), and that the wicked follow their own thoughts (Jer. 18, 12), combined with the Platonic and Stoic distrust of the data reported by the senses, which Plato believed was inherently unreal and the Stoics considered liable to be distorted by desire or the other drives.¹⁰ The thoughts are corrupted by «listening to» the senses.¹¹

After the separation of thoughts, the body and its senses are not to be permanently discarded, but to be brought under the dominion of the *nous*. The stage of division and of war is followed by a period of unification in the cleansing process, which Philo always calls a marriage between the *logismos* of the sovereign mind and the *aisthesis*: «But when just the right time has come for cleansing, and there is a drying up of all ignorance and of all that which is able to do harm,

⁹ H. V. ARNOLD, *Roman Stoicism* (New York, Humanities Press, 1958), p. 23.

¹⁰ *De leg. all.* 3, 71, 228 ff. (Loeb Library), p. 228 ff., cf. T. H. BRIDGES, *The Platonism of Philo Judaeus* (Univ. of Chicago Press, 1919), p. 73, and *The Monastic Concept of Purity of Heart and its Sources*, I, in *Studia Monastica*, 8 (1966), pp. 15, 17, and 10.

¹¹ *De leg. all.* 3, 79, 222 (Loeb Library), p. 452.

then it is fitting which have been made womanish the sense, may be by receiving from (things) with which virtue.»¹²

In the *De officiis* inner Eve, in which Adam is allegorically right way, good thought of this union is that the animal soul — the purified man can but also in an empty spreading as far as the body. For in accordance and touch, and After the soul has image of the Logos, world of Ideas, it possesses or virtues — God — which inhabit purified, and God Himself a holy temple a magnificent authors to a *nous kathartatos* only owing to the di-

¹² *Quaest. in Gen.* 2, 4f. *Ibid.* 3, 27, p. 215 c of «the inner Eve» was to be ment already calls the flesh found in the Septuagint, occurs in *Quaest. in Gen.* 3, 11 and its Sources, II, in *Stud. daemonibus* [Studia Anselmi] also used in the Quirian with p. 16).

¹⁵ *Quaest. in Gen.* 4, 11

¹⁶ *De somn.* 148. In A

¹⁷ *Quis rerum div. here*

¹⁸ *De leg. all.* 3, 79, 222 (Loeb Library), p. 452.

¹⁹ *De leg. all.* 3, 71, 228 ff. (Loeb Library), p. 228 ff., cf. T. H. BRIDGES, *The Platonism of Philo Judaeus* (Univ. of Chicago Press, 1919), p. 73, and *The Monastic Concept of Purity of Heart and its Sources*, I, in *Studia Monastica*, 8 (1966), pp. 15, 17, and 10.

²⁰ *De leg. all.* 3, 79, 222 (Loeb Library), p. 452.

²¹ *De leg. all.* 3, 71, 228 ff. (Loeb Library), p. 228 ff., cf. T. H. BRIDGES, *The Platonism of Philo Judaeus* (Univ. of Chicago Press, 1919), p. 73, and *The Monastic Concept of Purity of Heart and its Sources*, I, in *Studia Monastica*, 8 (1966), pp. 15, 17, and 10.

²² *De leg. all.* 3, 79, 222 (Loeb Library), p. 452.

²³ *De leg. all.* 3, 71, 228 ff. (Loeb Library), p. 228 ff., cf. T. H. BRIDGES, *The Platonism of Philo Judaeus* (Univ. of Chicago Press, 1919), p. 73, and *The Monastic Concept of Purity of Heart and its Sources*, I, in *Studia Monastica*, 8 (1966), pp. 15, 17, and 10.

²⁴ *De leg. all.* 3, 79, 222 (Loeb Library), p. 452.

²⁵ *De leg. all.* 3, 71, 228 ff. (Loeb Library), p. 228 ff., cf. T. H. BRIDGES, *The Platonism of Philo Judaeus* (Univ. of Chicago Press, 1919), p. 73, and *The Monastic Concept of Purity of Heart and its Sources*, I, in *Studia Monastica*, 8 (1966), pp. 15, 17, and 10.

²⁶ *De leg. all.* 3, 79, 222 (Loeb Library), p. 452.

²⁷ *De leg. all.* 3, 71, 228 ff. (Loeb Library), p. 228 ff., cf. T. H. BRIDGES, *The Platonism of Philo Judaeus* (Univ. of Chicago Press, 1919), p. 73, and *The Monastic Concept of Purity of Heart and its Sources*, I, in *Studia Monastica*, 8 (1966), pp. 15, 17, and 10.

²⁸ *De leg. all.* 3, 79, 222 (Loeb Library), p. 452.

²⁹ *De leg. all.* 3, 71, 228 ff. (Loeb Library), p. 228 ff., cf. T. H. BRIDGES, *The Platonism of Philo Judaeus* (Univ. of Chicago Press, 1919), p. 73, and *The Monastic Concept of Purity of Heart and its Sources*, I, in *Studia Monastica*, 8 (1966), pp. 15, 17, and 10.

³⁰ *De leg. all.* 3, 79, 222 (Loeb Library), p. 452.

³¹ *De leg. all.* 3, 71, 228 ff. (Loeb Library), p. 228 ff., cf. T. H. BRIDGES, *The Platonism of Philo Judaeus* (Univ. of Chicago Press, 1919), p. 73, and *The Monastic Concept of Purity of Heart and its Sources*, I, in *Studia Monastica*, 8 (1966), pp. 15, 17, and 10.

³² *De leg. all.* 3, 79, 222 (Loeb Library), p. 452.

³³ *De leg. all.* 3, 71, 228 ff. (Loeb Library), p. 228 ff., cf. T. H. BRIDGES, *The Platonism of Philo Judaeus* (Univ. of Chicago Press, 1919), p. 73, and *The Monastic Concept of Purity of Heart and its Sources*, I, in *Studia Monastica*, 8 (1966), pp. 15, 17, and 10.

³⁴ *De leg. all.* 3, 79, 222 (Loeb Library), p. 452.

³⁵ *De leg. all.* 3, 71, 228 ff. (Loeb Library), p. 228 ff., cf. T. H. BRIDGES, *The Platonism of Philo Judaeus* (Univ. of Chicago Press, 1919), p. 73, and *The Monastic Concept of Purity of Heart and its Sources*, I, in *Studia Monastica*, 8 (1966), pp. 15, 17, and 10.

³⁶ *De leg. all.* 3, 79, 222 (Loeb Library), p. 452.

³⁷ *De leg. all.* 3, 71, 228 ff. (Loeb Library), p. 228 ff., cf. T. H. BRIDGES, *The Platonism of Philo Judaeus* (Univ. of Chicago Press, 1919), p. 73, and *The Monastic Concept of Purity of Heart and its Sources*, I, in *Studia Monastica*, 8 (1966), pp. 15, 17, and 10.

³⁸ *De leg. all.* 3, 79, 222 (Loeb Library), p. 452.

then it is fitting and proper for it to bring together those (elements) which have been divided, not that the masculine thoughts may be made womanish and relaxed by softness, but that the female element, the sense, may be made mainly by following masculine thoughts and by receiving from them seed for procreation, that it may perceive (things) with wisdom, prudence, justice and courage, in sum with virtue.¹²

In the *De officiis* he treats this theme under the figure of «the inner Eve» in which Eve stands for sensibility, the *asthesis*, and Adam is allegorically interpreted as the *nous*.¹³ If they unite in the right way, good thoughts, words and acts are produced.¹⁴ The result of this union is that the virtue of the *nous*, made in the image of the *Logos*, who is the Image of God, extends from the rational soul to the animal soul — the psyche becomes assimilated to the *nous*. And the purified man can say, «Behold, virtue is not only in my mind but also in an empty and safe tent, in my body, extending itself and spreading as far as the senses and the other functional parts [of the body]. For in accordance with virtue I see and hear and smell and taste and touch, and I make other movements...»¹⁵

After the soul has been completely cleansed and restored to the image of the *Logos*, who is the sum of the Powers of God and the world of Ideas, it passes beyond the dominion of the Word and the Powers or virtues —, archangels, angels or divine logoi, the ideas of God — which inhabit the souls of those who are not yet completely purified, and God Himself comes to dwell in it as in «a house of God, a holy temple a majestic dwelling».¹⁶ Philo, one of the earliest of the ancient authors to write of mystical contemplation, taught that the *nous katharotatos* can see God in a partial manner, not of itself but only owing to the divine seed which has been communicated to it.¹⁷

¹² *Quaest. in Gen.*, 2, 49 (*Loeb Library*), p. 131.
¹³ *Ibid.*, 3, 27, p. 215 Cf. M. PLANCHET, *L'Eve intérieure*, D.S., 4, 1773. This curious theme of «the inner Eve» was to be transmitted to a long line of patristic and medieval writers. Cf. *and its Sources*, 11, in *Studia Monastica*, 8 (1966), p. 203.
¹⁴ *Quaest. in Gen.*, 3, 10 (*Loeb Library*), p. 194. The triad «thoughts, words, and deeds» found in the Septuagint, occurs very frequently in Philo. Lavers-Belencourt says it is of Jewish Alexandrian origin (*Doctrina asctica Origenis, seu de ratione animae humanae cum daemonibus* [Studia Anselmiana, 16, Rome, 1943], p. 76, note 86). Note, however, that in was also used in the Qumran writings (*The Monastic Concept of Purity of Heart and its Sources*, I, p. 16).
¹⁵ *Quaest. in Gen.*, 4, 11 (*Loeb Library*), p. 284.
¹⁶ *De somniis*, 148. In A. WIKENHAUSER, *Pauline Mysticism* (Freiburg, Herder and Herder, 1960), p. 68.
¹⁷ *Quis rerum div. heres.*, 13, in R. ARNOU, *Contemplation chez les anciens*, D.S., 2, 1726. This notion of divine seed filling the mind and producing thoughts which confer supernatural knowledge or vision (cf. *De Migr. Abr.*, 7), indicates that there are other «marriages» in Philo's

possible that Philo's use of any part of the soul is eradicated indicates a study of Stoicism, be- em that, where other positions for a know- other hand, he may agint and from other philosophical notions, of his use of the term. nastic notion of «evil» ristian, and that any

of *kenoi logismoi*, but ne rather than in the thoughts tinged with pure mystical prayer. on of *pistis*, faith, in on-Platonic way. True «vain thoughts» (229). n «uncertain thoughts (228); that is, in their cept that «The Lord which inhabit the souls of those who are not yet completely purified, and God Himself comes to dwell in it as in «a house of God, a holy temple a majestic dwelling».¹⁶ Philo, one of the earliest of the ancient authors to write of mystical contemplation, taught that the *nous katharotatos* can see God in a partial manner, not of itself but only owing to the divine seed which has been communicated to it.¹⁷

under the dominion followed by a period Philo always calls a and the *asthesis*: cleansing, and there is ich is able to do harm,

Billings, *The Platonism of the Monastic Concept of Purity of Heart*, 1958, p. 23.

Philo recognizes two classes of virtuous men, those in the intermediate stage like Aaron, who practices moderation and, as yet unable to eradicate the passions (symbolized by the breast, here interpreted not as the heart or the reasoning power but as the *thymon*), controls them by submitting them to reason; and the perfect, like Moses, «who cuts the breast, that is the *thymon*, clean out»,¹⁸ «for no moderation of passion can satisfy him; he is content with nothing but complete absence of passion» (*apatheta*).¹⁹ Thus he adopted the ideal of the Stoic sage, which he no doubt was instrumental in passing on to his fellow Alexandrians, Clement and Origen.

This brief sketch will perhaps suffice to indicate the place of the *logismoi* in Philo's scheme of *katharsis*, which has been well summarized by Father Basil Stegman: «The ambition which Philo holds out to us therefore is to let the energy of the mind entirely overcome and control the vigor of the body, till the latter is as it were dissolved in the soul and becomes one species with the soul and itself acceptable to God.»²⁰

It seems that Philo was the first to combine Platonic *katharsis*,

the Stoics' ideal of apatheia and their advocacy of keeping watch at the door of the mind, and the Judaic conception of the thoughts of the heart as determining a man's basic moral orientation. It is significant that he is just as preoccupied with the idea of guarding the soul against unworthy thoughts and images as is Origen. Already in the Gospels, however, Christ requires a watch over the heart, and this demand is repeated in a somewhat vague and general sense in Christian writings of the first three centuries which were certainly not influenced in this matter by Philo or by Stoicism. Perhaps the clearest example can be seen in this passage from the *Pseudo-Clementine Recognitions*: «In like manner he [Jesus] said also that the pure of heart are blessed, and that thereby they should see God, in order that everyone desiring so great a good might keep himself from evil and polluted thoughts.»²¹ The *Pseudo-Clementines* may or may not be going beyond the Gospels in conflating Mt. 5, 8 and Mt. 15, 19, but there can be no doubt that Christ taught both purity of the heart and its custody, though not necessarily in the form of the rigorous and

system besides that between the *noeton* and the *aistheton*. For example, the thoughts of the nous marry the higher virtues, wisdom, justice, etc., which are *logoi*, angels, powers of God (cf. *Quaest. in Gen.*, 3, 10, p. 194; 4, 11, pp. 284-285). The same idea may be found in Origen. ¹⁸ *De leg. all.*, 3, 44, 128 (*Loeb Library*), p. 386. ¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 3, 45, 129, p. 386. ²⁰ STEGMAN, p. 42. ²¹ *Recognitions of Clement*, 2, 28 (P.G., 1, 1262), tr. T. SMITH (*Ante-Nicene Fathers*, 8), p. 105.

Heart

In Stromata IV

«the hegemonikon of

Biblical expressions as

heart is an allegorical

Katharsis for Clement

For Clement of A

purification through v

scheme also includes,

good and evil forces,

between a new life in

In the first place Clemen

and the Platonists. Ka

nature nor the soul ge

cily rejects this noti

St. Paul meant by «ti

'being carnal,' accord

sins.»²⁴ But the corpor

spirit, to which evil ar

is, the mind (*hegemo*

God, is lacking the «I

22 Strom., 4, 6, 39, 2, ed

Drei Jahrhunderte, 2; Leipzig,

23 Strom., 5, 1, 12, 2 (G.C

24 Strom., 4, 26, 164, 3 (G

Clark, 1872), p. 116.

25 Strom., 4, 26, 161, 1 (C

THE MON

continual scrutiny of each thought and phantasy advocated by the Stoics and practiced by the early monks (something more casual and relaxed is also conceivable as fulfilling this teaching of Christ). Hence the monastic concept of custody of the heart for the sake of its purity cannot be said to stem entirely from Hellenistic influences, though it was certainly influenced in its final shape by the Stoic ideas which Philo passed on to Clement and Origen.

II. CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

Heart

In Stromata IV Clement refers to the heart as a metaphor for «the *hegemonikon* of the *psyche*,»²² but he usually interprets it in Biblical expressions as the undifferentiated *psyche* or soul: «For the heart is an allegorical term for the *psyche*.»²³

Katharsis for Clement

For Clement of Alexandria *katharsis* is, of course, a process of purification through withdrawal from the body and its passions. This scheme also includes, however, not only a moral opposition between good and evil forces, as in Philo, but the New Testament dualism between a new life in the Holy Spirit and the old life of the flesh. In the first place Clement was well aware that Christian teaching on the worth of the body was in contradiction to that of the Gnostics and the Platonists. *Katharsis* does not imply that the body is evil by nature nor the soul good: Clement, like the Fathers in general, explicitly rejects this notion, by giving a correct interpretation of what St. Paul meant by «the flesh»: «For... 'walking after the flesh' and 'being carnal,' according to the apostle, are those who are in their sins.»²⁴ But the corporeal spirit has come to dominate over the higher spirit, to which evil and good actions are respectively attached.²⁵ That is, the mind (*hegemonikon* or *nous*), in which resides the image of God, is lacking the «likeness» to God which is its perfection (Philo

²² Strom., 4, 6, 39, 2, ed. O. Stählin (Griechische Schriftsteller der Ersten Drei Jahrhunderte, 2; Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1939), p. 365.
²³ Strom., 5, 1, 12, 2 (G.C.S., p. 334). See also Strom., 5, 5, 30, 5 (G.C.S., p. 346); Strom., 2, 20, 115, 1 (G.C.S., p. 175); Strom., 6, 12, 101, 5 (G.C.S., p. 482); Strom., 6, 17, 157, 4 (G.C.S., p. 513).
²⁴ Strom., 4, 26, 164, 3 (G.C.S., p. 324), tr. W. Wilson (Ante-Nicene Library, 12; Edinburgh, Clark, 1872), p. 116.
²⁵ Strom., 4, 26, 161, 1 (G.C.S., p. 319).

those in the intermediate d, as yet unable to era- t, here interpreted not the *thymon*), controls perfect, like Moses, «who »¹⁸ «for no moderation nothing but complete opted the ideal of the al in passing on to his

indicate the place of the h has been well sum- tion which Philo holds mind entirely overcome is as it were dissolved soul and itself accep-

ine Platonic *katharsis*, y of keeping watch at of the thoughts of the itation. It is significant of guarding the soul Crigen. Already in the er the heart, and this general sense in Chri- ch were certainly not n. Perhaps the clearest *Pseudo-Clementine Re-* also that the pure of see God, in order that himself from evil and may or may not be 8 and Mt., 15, 19, but purity of the heart and n of the rigorous and

example, the thoughts of the *logoi*, angels, powers of God idea may be found in Origen.

UTH (Ante-Nicene Fathers, 8).

had not distinguished between image and likeness as did some of the Fathers). Through the Fall it had become subjected to the lower parts of the tripartite soul, the *thyntikon* and the *epithymetikon*, whence arise the passions, and Adam lost the opportunity to receive the gift of the Holy Spirit, the *pneuma*, which was to be added on to the human mind and which for Clement constitutes «likeness» to God.²⁶ Though essentially recovered through the purification received in baptism, when the Holy Spirit is received,²⁷ together with gnosis as an essential grace identical with faith, this likeness needs to be brought to perfection and the mastery of the hegemonikon over the lower parts of the soul must be fully regained through the imitation of Christ. This involves in the first place *apochē*, abstinence from evil, ceasing from sin «in action and in word, and in thought itself.»²⁸ «Just as silver often purified, so is the just man brought to the test, becoming the Lord's coin and receiving the royal image... the gnostic soul is in manifold ways sanctified, through withdrawal (*apochē*) from earthly fires.»²⁹ *Apochē* does not end in full *apatheia*, but in moderation of the passions — Philo's intermediate stage — and is a training for *apatheia*.³⁰ It seems that Clement is here envisioning the first steps of conversion to Christianity that took place during the catechumenate. In Book VI, chapter 12 of the *Stromata* Clement treats of the stages of the Christian and gnostic life and summarizes them in the gnostic's prayer:

«First he will ask *forgiveness of sins* (probably=baptism); and after, that he may sin no more (called *apochē kakōn panton* in the following paragraph); and further, the power of well-doing (*eu poiein*) and of comprehending the whole creation and economy by the Lord (=gnosis); that, becoming *pure in heart* through the knowledge which is by the Son of God, he may be initiated into the beatific vision face to face.»³¹ Biblical language such as «forgiveness of sins», «forsake evil and do good», may reflect the traditional Christian *kerygma* and

²⁶ J. DANIELOU, *Message Évangélique et Culture Hellénistique aux II^e et III^e Siècles* (Histoire des doctrines chrétiennes avant Nicée, 2; Paris, Desclée, 1961), p. 378.
²⁷ *Paed.* 1, 11, 98, 2 (G.C.S., p. 319).
²⁸ *Strom.* 5, 12, 102, 3 (G.C.S., p. 462), tr. WILSON, p. 338.
²⁹ *Strom.* 6, 7, 60, 1 (G.C.S., p. 462), tr. WILSON, p. 338.
³⁰ *Strom.* 6, 13, 105, 1 (G.C.S., p. 462), tr. WILSON, p. 484.
³¹ *Strom.* 6, 12, 102, 1-2 (G.C.S., p. 483), tr. WILSON, p. 363. In *Strom.* 4, 17, 109 (G.C.S., p. 296), tr. WILSON, p. 189, Clement quotes Clement of Rome citing Ps. 33 (34), 12-15, and comments, «Then he subjoins the gnostic mystery of the hebdomad and ogdoad... For in these words he alludes to gnosis, with abstinence from evil and doing of what is good, teaching that it is to be perfected by word and deed.» The same psalm is rather extensively commented in the prologue of the *Rule of St. Benedict* as a call to conversion. These terms and texts are also used by Origen, though not quite as frequently as by Clement. Cf. note 190, *infra*.

catechesis. It recalls and do good; seek p
apochē and *enkr*
 level, the level of th
 Law of the Old Test
 whose motivating fo
 ledge and love. In th
 motive, a morality o
 pline, of repression,
 tive virtue of Self-C
 or joy.³² In order fo
 must be supplement
 gnosis, frequently li
 The following texts
 which takes place i
 (*apochē*) from evil
 in truth, the perfect
 in the case of the G
 others, his righteous
eupotias.³⁴
 Another text sta
 of evil consists, for
 him to «do good» in
 from evil conduct is
 and knowledge.³⁵ A
 participation in the
 is the source for «rig
 to Christ, or accordi
 the beginning of all
 with the Logos, Chr

catechesis. It recalls, for instance, Psalm 33 (34), 15; «Turn from evil and do good; seek peace, and follow after it.»

Apoclie and enkratelia (continence, self-control) belong to the lower level, the level of the great majority of common believers and of the Law of the Old Testament, that of the servant rather than of the son, whose motivating forces are faith, fear, and hope rather than knowledge and love. In the words of Charles Bigg, it is ruled by «a selfish motive, a morality of abstinence from wrong. It is the sphere of discipline, of repression, of painful effort. Its crown is Holiness, the negative virtue of Self-Control. It is a state of salvation, but not of peace or joy.»³² In order for full purification to be attained, these first efforts must be supplemented by the positive elements of «doing good» and gnosis, frequently linked together by *kai* in Stromata VI, chapter 12.³³ The following texts illustrate this point: «But the first purification which takes place in the body, the soul being first, is abstinence (*apoclie*) from evil things, which some consider perfection, and is, in truth, the perfection of the common believer, Jew and Greek. But in the case of the Gnostic, after that which is reckoned perfection in others, his righteousness advances to activity in well-doing (*energetian eupodias*).»³⁴

Another text states that the positive supplement to renunciation of evil consists, for the gnostic, of gnosis, which is what enables him to «do good» in the highest sense: «For he who merely abstains from evil conduct is not just, unless he also attain besides beneficence and knowledge.»³⁵ As a habitual way of knowing proceeding from a participation in the glorified Christ through the Holy Spirit, gnosis is the source for «right action»³⁶ or purely motivated action according to Christ, or according to the Holy Spirit, at its highest: «Gnosis is the beginning of all *logike* action,³⁷ that is, action in conformity with the Logos, Christ, just as faith, at a lower level, is «a worker

³² *The Christian Platonists of Alexandria* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1886), pp. 86-87. Cf. Strom., 6, 14, 108 (G.C.S., p. 486). Philo had already called the Logos, which was the exemplar to be followed by the soul, the Son, the Eldest Son, and the Firstborn of God. See Bigg, p. 17. ³³ Strom., 6, 26, 102, 1 (G.C.S., p. 483); 103, 2, p. 483; 103, 5, p. 484; cf. Strom., 6, 13, 105, 1 (G.C.S., p. 484). ³⁴ Strom., 6, 7, 60, 2-3 (G.C.S., p. 462), tr. Wilson, p. 339. It is the Holy Spirit who sanctifies both body and soul (Strom., 4, 26, 163, 1-2; G.C.S., p. 320). This is the Christian teaching of «pure in body and in soul» (cf. *The Monastic Concept of Purity of Heart and Its Sources*, II, p. 190 ff.), according to which the removal of evil and ignorance in the heart through the resurrection. The concept of two-fold purity of both body and soul or heart is expounded in Strom., 4, 25. See also *Paed.*, 3, 12, 3 (G.C.S., p. 280) (as a requirement for coming to Church to worship); Strom., 5, 10, 61, 3 (G.C.S., 367); Strom., 2, 20, 104, 2 (G.C.S., p. 170). ³⁵ Strom., 6, 12, 103, 2 (G.C.S., p. 483); tr. Wilson, p. 363. ³⁶ Strom., 6, 14, 111, 3 (G.C.S., p. 487). ³⁷ Strom., 6, 8, 69, 2 (G.C.S., p. 466).

ess as did some of the
red to the lower parts
pythmeikon, whence
ity to receive the gift
be added on to the
«likeness» to God.³⁸
ation received in bap-
ter with gnosis as an
s needs to be brought
nikon over the lower
ugh the imitation of
abstinence from evil,
thought itself.»³⁸ «Just
ght to the test, becom-
ge... the gnostic soul
raval (*apoclie*) from
eia, but in moderation
and is a training for
ning the first steps of
it treats of the stages
the catechumenate,
it treats of the stages
them in the gnostic's

bably=baptism); and
kakon panton in the
well-doing (*eu poiein*)
economy by the Lord
the knowledge which
the beatific vision face
ss of sins,» «forsake
christian *kerynma* and

aux II^e et III^e Siècles (His-
1), p. 378.

In Strom., 4, 17, 109 (G.C.S.,
s Ps. 33 (34), 12-15, and com-
and ogdoad... For in these
of what is good, teaching
rather extensively commented
n. These terms and texts are
t. Cf. note 190, *infra*.

of good and the foundation of just action³⁸ or intermediate action,³⁹ sufficient for salvation but not for perfection. For all action flows from some sort of knowledge and judgement. Though gnostics themselves require purity — it is a divine knowledge born from keeping the commandments —⁴⁰ it is essentially through gnostics that the soul or heart is purified. For example: gnostics «is therefore quick in purification (katharsis) and fit for that acceptable transformation to the better» because it «removes the soul to what is akin to the soul,⁴¹ that is, to God. And nothing could be more explicit than this statement: «Gnostics is the purification of the *hegemonikon* of the soul.⁴² Elsewhere he tells the gnostics, «But ye are washed (I Cor., 6, 9), not simply as the rest [with faith in baptism], but with gnostics you have thrown off the animal [*psychika*] passions.⁴³ This washing is considered a great sacrament, a second baptism, since it enables the gnostic to rise to a higher level of purity, the level of the martyrs,⁴⁴ in which the passions are eliminated.

Gnostics, a higher understanding of revelation, together with the love brought by Christ, fulfills the Law (Rom. 13, 10)⁴⁵ and gives the power not only to refrain from evil (*apochē*) and to control the passions (*enkrateia*), but to advance beyond the elementary training of the Law, where the ordinary Christian believer remains, to the level of the Gospel and of gnostic perfection: that is, to purity of heart and *apathēia*. The gnostic

«is no longer content (*enkrates*), but has reached a stage of passionlessness (*apathēias*), waiting to put on the divine image.⁴⁶ «Who then is perfect? He who professes abstinence from what is bad? Well, this is the way to the gospel and to well-doing. But gnostic per-

³⁸ Strom., 5, 13, 86, 1 (G.C.S., p. 383).
³⁹ Strom., 5, 6, 39, 4 (G.C.S., p. 216).
⁴⁰ Strom., 3, 6, 39, 4 (G.C.S., p. 353); «Good works follow gnostics as shadow follows substance: Strom., 7, 13 (P.G., 9, 516 B).
⁴¹ Strom., 7, 10 (P.G., 13, 479 C); tr. Wilson, p. 447.
⁴² Strom., 4, 6, 39, 4 (G.C.S., p. 267).
⁴³ Strom., 7, 14, 86, 5 (G.C.S., p. 61); tr. Wilson, p. 470. Cf. also Strom., 5, 6, 40, 1 (G.C.S., p. 353).
⁴⁴ Strom., 4, 6, 43, 4 (G.C.S., p. 267); Strom., 2, 20, 104, 2-3 (G.C.S., p. 170); 4, 3, 15, 3 (G.C.S., p. 255). Philo had already bestowed the name «martyr» (from «tabernacle of witness») on those who freed themselves from their passions for the love of God and lived a life of «witness»; *De leg. all.*, 2, 15, 55 (Loeb Library), p. 258. Cf. G. Bérès, *De Continua Oratione Clementis Alexandrini Doctrina* (Rome, S. Anselmo, 1942), p. 25, note 145.
⁴⁵ Strom., 4, 18, 113, 4-5 (G.C.S., p. 298). Cf. *Pseudo-Clementine Hom.*, 11, 28-29, «For when the mind is enlightened by gnostics, the disciple is able to be good and thereupon purity follows, for from the understanding within a good care of the body without follows.» We have called this theme, «Cleanse the soul and the body will be cleaned»; see *The Monastic Concept of Purity of Heart and Its Sources*, II, p. 197 ff.
⁴⁶ Strom., 4, 22, 138, 1 (G.C.S., p. 309), tr. Wilson, p. 203.

fection in the c
that he that is
the gospel the
of the law as
as the Lord wh
Christ himself is «it
communicates the
revelation through
good and evil in the
for its own sake.⁴⁹ I
the passions entirely
a habitual dispositi
perfect man from al
and practice habit
impassibility, not m
not subject to alter
immutability and c
Clement teaches
sion as part of the
said: «But I say, do
to Mt. 5, 28, which
the heart, a text wh

⁴⁷ Strom., 4, 21, 130, 2
⁴⁸ Strom., 3, 12, 98, 1 (G.C.S., p. 307).
⁴⁹ Strom., 4, 22, 135, 1 (G.C.S., p. 307).
⁵⁰ Strom., 6, 9, 74, 1 (G.C.S., p. 307).
⁵¹ Strom., 4, 22, 137 (G.C.S., p. 307).
⁵² (Cf. *Exod.*, 20, 17);
p. 313), where the same co
be included by Christ in t
with just, wrath being just
Like the second-century ap
the avoidance of sins of th
Gospel, whereas, he says, th
according to the Law by al
Gospel from evil thoughts
concept is based on Mt. 5,
demands, which are both
unrighteous who retaliates
after the [elementary] traini
tr. Wilson, p. 470). The idea
is, however, an oversimplifi
brother in your heart»; and
ven, *Palestinian Judaism in*
1964], p. 113). The early Chr
morality stresses the act r
Often also contrasts the Ol
(14) and «Thou shalt not lu
with the mind (Sel. in Psal

fection in the case of the legal man is the acceptance of the gospel, that he that is according to the law may be perfect... But now in of the law as a step, but by understanding and comprehending it, as the Lord who gave the Covenants delivered it to the apostles.⁴⁷

Christ himself is «the good will of the good Father»⁴⁸ who reveals and communicates the Father's will. Gaining a full understanding of this revelation through gnosis, the gnostic has a thorough knowledge of good and evil in their most profound aspects and a love for the good for its own sake.⁴⁹ Thus, according to Clement, he is able to eliminate the passions entirely, when by repeated practice «doing good» becomes a habitual disposition. «We must therefore rescue the gnostic and perfect man from all passion of the soul. For gnosis produces practice, and practice habit or disposition; and such a state as this produces impassibility, not moderation of passion.»⁵⁰ As good becomes a habit not subject to alteration or interruption, the gnostic shares in the immutability and changelessness of God.⁵¹

Clement teaches that Christ forbade all concupiscence and passion as part of the higher moral standard of the Gospel: «The Lord said: 'But I say, do not lust (*me epithymeses*).'⁵² This is a reference to Mt. 5, 28, which prohibits committing adultery in the thoughts of the heart, a text which Clement frequently adduces to prove his con-

⁴⁷ Strom., 4, 21, 130, 2 (G.C.S., p. 305), tr. Wilson, p. 199.
⁴⁸ Paul., 3, 12, 98, 1 (G.C.S., p. 289); cf. Bekes, p. 241.
⁴⁹ Strom., 4, 22, 135, ff. (G.C.S., p. 308); Strom., 4, 22, 145, 2 (G.C.S., p. 312); Strom., 4, 21, 134 ff. (G.C.S., p. 307).
⁵⁰ Strom., 6, 9, 74, 1 (G.C.S., p. 468), tr. Wilson, p. 346.
⁵¹ Strom., 4, 22, 137 (G.C.S., p. 309); Strom., 4, 23, 151 (G.C.S., p. 315).
⁵² (Cf. Exod., 20, 17); Strom., 3, 4, 31, 2 (G.C.S., p. 210); cf. Strom., 4, 23, 147, 3 (G.C.S., p. 313), where the same command is repeated. Anger, the other basic passion, is also said to be included by Christ in this prohibition: «Now the Saviour has taken away wrath in and with lust, wrath being just of vengeance.» Strom., 4, 23, 152 (G.C.S., p. 315), tr. Wilson, p. 210. Like the second-century apologists and other Christian writers of his time Clement considers the avoidance of sins of the higher and more perfect moral teachings of the Gospel, whereas, he says, the Law only concerned itself with actions: the gnostic, then, according to the Law by abstaining from bad deeds, and according to the perfection of the Gospel from evil thoughts (*emotions*) (Strom., 7, 12 ff. p. 505 A), tr. Wilson, p. 463). This concept is based on Mt., 5, 20 ff. where Jesus contrasts the Pharisees' teachings with his own demands, which are both more interior and more rigorous. Elsewhere he says, «He acts unrighteously who retaliates, whether by deed or word, or by the conception of a wish, which after the [elementary] training of the Law, the Gospel rejects» (Strom., 7, 14 ff. p. 520 C). It is, however, an oversimplification; see, for example, Lev., 19, 17-18, «You shall not hate your brother in your heart»; and some of the rabbis also recognized sins of thought (cf. J. Bonsirven, *Palestinian Judaism in the Time of Jesus Christ* [New York, Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1964], p. 113). The early Christian writers are correct, however, in that on the whole rabbinical morality stresses the act rather than the thought. A fragment from a Catena attributed to Origen also contrasts the Old and New Law as «Thou shalt not commit adultery» (Exod., 120, 14) and «Thou shalt not lust.» the Old Law being concerned with works and the New Law with the mind (Sel. in *Psalms*, Ps. 123, 7 [P.G., 12, 1638 B]).

mediate action,⁵³ or all action flows through gnosis itself in keeping the command at the soul or heart stuck in purification to the better» e soul,⁵⁴ that is, to statement: «Gnosis is considered a habit or heart-martyrs,⁵⁵ in which together with the 10⁵⁶ and gives the to control the pas-mentary training of remains, to the level to purity of heart

ached a stage of pas-divine image.⁵⁷ «Who from what is bad? ing. But gnostic per-
sis as shadow follows sub-
o Strom., 5, 6, 40, 1 (G.C.S.,
(G.C.S., p. 170); 4, 3, 15, 3
om «tabernacle of witness»
of God and lived a life of
De *Continua Oratione* Cle-
145.
Hom., 11, 28-29, «For when
ut follows.» We have called
e The Monastic Concept of

tention that the Gospel forbids concupiscence. In one passage he makes a combination of several New Testament passages on purity of heart and interprets them in the sense of *apatheia*:

"The gnostic, therefore, will abstain from errors in speech (*logon*), and thought (*dianoian*), and sensation (*aisthesin*) and action (*energeian*), having heard that 'he that looks so as to just a woman commits adultery [in his heart]' (Mt. 5,28); and reflecting that 'Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God' (Mt. 5,8); and knowing this, that not what enters into the mouth defileth, but that it is what cometh by the mouth that defileth a man. For 'out of the heart proceed thoughts (*dialogismoi*)' (Mt. 15, 11 and 19)."⁵³

Here purity of heart is linked with the battle against evil thoughts as well as with the vision of God and includes the three categories of thoughts, words, and actions, with the addition of the more philosophical concept of sensation. Many other statements connect the idea of purity of thoughts and of the heart with freedom from the passions. For example, the gnostic is "not at all capable of thoughts (*dialogismoi*) of anger or desire...,"⁵⁴ the two primary passions. And he gives this interpretation of the beatitude of the pure in heart in his chapter on the beatitudes: "Pure then as respects corporeal lusts (*epithymias*) and holy in respect to their thoughts (*dialogismos*), he means those are who attain to the knowledge (*epignosis*) of God, when the *hegemonikon* has no adultery to stand in the way of its power."⁵⁵ This inner purity, symbolized by the ritual washings practiced by pagans and Jews before prayer or before entering a temple and by Christians in baptism, extends to deeds, words, and thoughts, and even to dreams:

"So it is said that we ought to go washed to sacrifices and prayers, clean and bright; and that this external adornment and purification are practiced for a sign. Now 'purity is to think holy thoughts.' Further, there is the image of baptism, which also was handed down to the poets from Moses... [and he gives two examples from Homer]. It was a custom of the Jews to wash frequently after being in bed [after marital intercourse]. It was then well said, 'Be pure, not by washing of water, but in the mind.' For purity, as I conceive it, is the perfection of mind (*nou*) in both deeds and thoughts, sincerity in words too, and in its last degree sinlessness in dreams."⁵⁶

⁵³ Strom., 2, 11, 50, 2 (G.C.S., p. 139), tr. Wilson, p. 31.
⁵⁴ Strom., 3, 10, 69, 4 (G.C.S., p. 227).
⁵⁵ Strom., 4, 6, 39, 4 (G.C.S., p. 267), tr. Wilson, p. 157.
⁵⁶ Strom., 4, 22, 142, 4 (G.C.S., p. 311), tr. Wilson (altered), p. 205; Strom., 5, 1, 13, 3 (G.C.S., p. 334); Strom., 7, 4 (P. G., 13, 436 A-B). As in the *Ap. Trad. of Hippolytus*, 35, Clem-

Thus, though thought freedom from evil! the familiar triad. H thoughts, and pure v the three ways of con Conversely, the gnos word and in action, e Thoughts are eq seen that Clement us *noia* in the Biblical these "evil thoughts" It is also an object spise money, pleasure (*logismos* *ton ponoi* regard to the passio who curbs the impul himself so as not to The passions are no "impressions on the the signatures of the The wicked spirits "I teries and such like e who drive away cat deceived and consent sing constantly on th soul unwittingly carri its rise from the bat to discern the *phantas* denies that the passio the Gnostic teaches.⁵⁵

ent states that ritual washing before engaging in prayer, as Moses (Strom., 3, 12, 82, 6 G. "sicut multa necessaria eran antequam purificatio per Spi that marital intercourse caus which interfered with prayer. Strom., 6, 14, 113, 2 (G. Strom., 2, 5, 68, 3 (G. Strom., 2, 19, 98, 1 (G. Strom., 7, 9 (P. G., 13, Strom., 3, 6, 59, 2 (G. Strom., 2, 18, 80, 4 (G. Strom., 2, 20, 111, 3-4 Strom., 2, 20, 111, 2 (G. Strom., 2, 20, 113, 2 (G.

Thus, though thought is stressed, purity of heart for Clement includes freedom from evil in words and deeds, the other two aspects of the familiar triad. He speaks of «keeping the soul pure with grave thoughts, and pure words, and just deeds.»⁵⁷ As for Origen, these are the three ways of committing sins⁵⁸ and the three forms of repentance.⁵⁹ Conversely, the gnostic «always does rightly in all things, both in word and in action, and in thought itself.»⁶⁰

Thoughts are equated with the impulses of the passions. We have seen that Clement uses such words as *logismoi*, *dialogismoi*, and *en-notia* in the Biblical sense of «evil thoughts» and that overcoming these «evil thoughts» is one aspect of abstinence from evil for him. It is also an object of self-control, *enkratēia*: «Self-control is to despise money, pleasure..., to control the mouth, to master evil thoughts (*logismoi ton poneron*).»⁶¹ Elsewhere this virtue is defined with regard to the passions, using Stoic terms: «He exercises *enkratēia* who curbs the impulses (*ormai*) contrary to right reason, or curbs himself so as not to indulge in desires contrary to right reason.»⁶² The passions are no longer simply psychological in origin: they are «impressions on the soul that is soft and yielding, and, as it were, the signatures of the spiritual powers with whom we have to struggle. The wicked spirits «hold out beautiful sights and honours and adulteries and such like alluring *phantasiai* before facile spirits; as those who drive away cattle hold out branches to them.» If the soul is deceived and consents, passions arise: «Each deceit (*apate*), by pressing constantly on the spirit, impresses its *phantasia* on it; and the soul unwittingly carries about the image of the passion, which takes its rise from the bait and our consent.»⁶³ The reasoning power «ought to discern the *phantasiai* and not be carried away by them.»⁶⁴ Clement denies that the passions are living appendages of the soul, as Basilides the Gnostic teaches,⁶⁵ or that demons inhabit the heart, as Valentinus

ent states that ritual washing after marital intercourse is no longer necessary in the New Law before engaging in prayer, as the one Christian baptism has replaced the many baptisms of Moses (Strom., 3, 12, 82, 6 [G.C.S., p. 234]); cf. Origen, *Comm. in Rom.*, 2, 13 (P.G., 14, 912 C). «scit multa necessaria erant baptismata ante baptismum Christi, et multae purificationes antequam purificationem per Spiritum sanctum haberet...» See below, note 69. But Origen thought that marital intercourse caused a certain defilement, which was neither moral nor ritual but which interfered with prayer. See below, note 177.

⁵⁷ Strom., 6, 14, 113, 2 (G.C.S., p. 488), tr. Wilson, p. 370.

⁵⁸ Strom., 2, 5, 68, 3 (G.C.S., p. 149).

⁵⁹ Strom., 2, 19, 98, 1 (G.C.S., p. 166).

⁶⁰ Strom., 7, 9 (P.G., 13, 477 B).

⁶¹ Strom., 3, 6, 59, 2 (G.C.S., p. 233). See also Strom., 4, 6, 33, 6 (G.C.S., p. 263).

⁶² Strom., 2, 18, 80, 4 (G.C.S., p. 153), tr. Wilson, p. 48.

⁶³ Strom., 2, 20, 111, 34 (G.C.S., p. 173), tr. Wilson, p. 64.

⁶⁴ Strom., 2, 20, 111, 2 (G.C.S., p. 173), tr. Wilson, p. 64.

⁶⁵ Strom., 2, 20, 113, 2 (G.C.S., p. 174).

ce. In one passage he ent passages on purity *pathēia*:

errors in speech (*logon*), as to lust a woman committed reflecting that 'Blessed' (Mt. 5.8); and knowing filth, but that it is what or 'out of the heart pro- (19).»⁶⁶

e against evil thoughts es the three categories tion of the more philo- tatements connect the with freedom from the all capable of thoughts primary passions. And the pure in heart in his aspects corporeal lusts oughs (*dialogismoi*), ge (*epignosis*) of God, and in the way of its e ritual washings prac- fore entering a temple s, words, and thoughts,

o sacrifices and prayers, nment and purification ink holy thoughts.' Fur- so was handed down to examples from Homer], ently after being in bed ll said, 'Be pure, not by ity, as I conceive it, is and thoughts, sincerity ss in dreams.»⁶⁷

(Trad. of Hippolytus, 35, Clem- p. 205; Strom., 5, 1, 13, 3

says.⁶⁶ On the whole, demons play a smaller part in his system than in that of Origen.

Equating the Biblical «thoughts» with the passions, Clement will

not accept what he considers a minimizing tendency that would in-

terpret Christ's teaching concerning sins of thought as applying only

to thoughts that are carried out in action. He rejects the interpretation

of one self-styled gnostic who said of Mt., 5, 28, «that it was not the

bare desire that was condemned; but if through the desire the act

that results from it proceeding beyond the desire is accomplished

in it.⁶⁷ This may represent a lax view, but Clement's own interpre-

tation is certainly rigorous enough for one who is generally considered

a humanist and no extremist: it is indeed the bare desire, any move-

ment of sexual desire whatsoever, that is condemned. «But if one

looks on beauty of person (the Word says), and the flesh seem to him

in the way of lust to be fair, looking on carnally and sinfully, he is

judged because he admires. For on the other hand, he who in chaste

love looks on beauty thinks not that the flesh is beautiful, but the

spirit, admiring, as I judge, the body as an image by whose beauty

he transports himself to the Artist and to the true beauty.⁶⁸

On the other hand, he strongly maintains «that all things which

were created for our use are good; as, for example, marriage and

procreation, when used in moderation.»⁶⁹ The emotions are not evil;

⁶⁶ Strom., 2, 20, 114, 6 (G.C.S., p. 175).
⁶⁷ Strom., 4, 18, 114, 2 (G.C.S., p. 298), tr. WILSON, p. 192.
⁶⁸ Strom., 4, 18, 116, 1-2 (G.C.S., p. 299), tr. WILSON, p. 192.
⁶⁹ Strom., 4, 23, 147, 1 (G.C.S., p. 313), tr. WILSON, p. 207.

of meat, wine, and marriage are according to reason (Strom., 3, 12, 85, 2 [G.C.S., p. 233]), as good is not situated in food or abstaining (1 Cor., 8, 8) or in marriage or abstinence from and use of meat, wine, and marriage are according to reason (Strom., 3, 12, 85, 2 [G.C.S., p. 233]), as and even in seeing dreams he does and thinks what is holy. So is he always pure for prayer» (Strom., 7, 12 [P.G., 13, 509 A]; see note 56, above). The cares involved in bringing up a family can be a source of merit (Strom., 7, 12 [P.G., 13, 500 A]). But the Christian should practice a great deal of continence and abstinence in his married life, as he should not seek pleasure as such but use all things «according to nature» that is, strictly according to the ends God intended for them, which in marriage is the procreation of children. For Origen too «The love of husband and wife is holy only when it imitates that of Christ for the Church: it should be exercised without pleasurable passion, in view of procreation, for the glory of God» (H. CRAUZEL, *Origène, Précurseur du Monachisme*, in *Théologie de la Vie Monastique*, Paris, Aubier, 1961, p. 30). To the gnostic his wife, except for the procreation of children, is like a sister, in anticipation of the resurrection, when the flesh that we have now is put off, and with it the distinction between the sexes (Strom., 6, 2, 100, 2-3 [G.C.S., p. 482]; cf. *Paed.*, 1, 4, 10; 6, 46). Cf. Origen, *Frag. ex Comm. in Ephes.* (P.G., 14, 1298 B): «Foveamus igitur et viri uxores nostras, et animae nostrae corpora, ut et uxores in vires, et corpora redigantur in animas, et nequaquam sit sexuum ulla diversitas: sed quomodo apud angelos futurum sumus, iam nunc incipiamus esse quod nobis in coelestibus reprobissimum est.» The ideal is that women become men: by continence and in becoming perfect, woman is translated into man, and her femininity, seen as a defect, disappears (Strom., 6, 12, 100, 2-3 [G.C.S., 282]). Clement seems to derive the doctrine of sexlessness as a Christian ideal from a passage from *The Gospel of*

when used rightly, the stage of *enkra* of passion and virtu the motive force, the motive force, of judgment, which passions, but attacks shall free myself I alliance with Thee things are well addressed I must be in what I am near Thee. At draw near to Thee, choice between this Assimilated to Christ.⁷³ The hegemonically the thoughts, is purity of heart «Purity of heart to man, whereby every rule of the hegemon it.»⁷⁴ Being «impress of the Master»⁷⁵ the constant applicator all things to God, by and thorough know praising, such a soul endowed, he is ena

the Egyptians, now known and also quoted by 2 Clem he should have no thought says, the kingdom of my forbidden to Christians, so Cassian in which the Clement interprets the text cupiscence, but not as fort Strom., 4, 23, 151 (C Strom., 4, 23, 147, 1 Strom., 4, 23, 148, 2 Strom., 4, 23, 152 (C Bérès, p. 17. Strom., 6, 15, 115, 1 Strom., 6, 14, 113, 3

Assimilated to the divine *apatheia*, the gnostic is deified through Christ.⁷³ The *hegemonikon* regains full control over the faculties, especially the thoughts, with no interference from the passions — which is purity of heart as well as *apatheia*. Békés gives this definition: «Purity of heart for Clement signifies the purity of the whole inner man, whereby every motion of body and soul are under the absolute rule of the *hegemonikon*, so that they are no longer able to disturb it.»⁷⁴

the Egyptians, now known to be nearly the equivalent of Logion 22 of the Gospel of Thomas and also quoted by 2 Clement to the Corinthians to mean that «when a brother sees a sister he should have no thought of her as female, nor she of him as male. When you do this, he says, the kingdom of my Father will come.» Clement quotes a passage from the gnostic Julius Cassianus in which the text is cited to prove that sex is not natural and that marriage is forbidden to Christians, so that such a thought (*ennoia*) should be castrated (Strom., 3, 13). Clement interprets the text allegorically in the sense of *apatheta*, absence of anger and concupiscent but not as forbidding marriage (*ibid*)

76	Strom, 6, 14, 113, 3 (G.C.S., pp. 488-489), tr. Wilson, p. 370.
75	Strom, 6, 15, 115, 1 (G.C.S., p. 489), tr. Wilson, p. 370.
74	Bekes, p. 17.
73	Strom, 4, 23, 152 (G.C.S., p. 316), tr. Wilson, p. 208.
72	Strom, 4, 23, 148, 2 (G.C.S., pp. 313-314), tr. Wilson, p. 208.
71	Strom, 4, 23, 147, 1 (G.C.S., p. 313).
70	Strom, 4, 23, 151 (G.C.S., p. 313).

passions, Clement will
ought as applying only
fects the interpretation
3, « that it was not the
ugh the desire the act
esire is accomplished
ement's own interpre-
is generally considered
bare desire, any move-
ndemned. « But if one
the flesh seem to him
ally and sinfully, he is
and, he who in chaste
is beautiful, but the
age by whose beauty
true beauty.»⁶⁸
« that all things which
example, marriage and
emotions are not evil,

Both absence from and use of these things are done or left nothing (if the Word enjoin), (as he always pure for prayer) is involved in bringing up a (A). But the Christian should live, as he should not seek it is, strictly according to the hat of Christ for the Church; of children. For Origen too *écologie de la Vie Monastique*, for the glory of procreation, for the glory of the procreation of children, is the procreation of children, is put off, cf. *Paed.* 14, 1298 B); «Forewasm igitur ad apud angelos futurum sumus, est.» The ideal is that women translated into man, and her [G.C.S., p. 2873]. Clement seems a passage from *The Gospel of*

to be equal to the angels» (*isangelos*)⁷⁷ and «like as the apostles»⁷⁸ «Such an one is in reality a presbyter of the church, and a true minister (deacon) of the will of God, if he do and teach what is the Lord's; not as being ordained by men, nor regarded righteous because a presbyter, but enrolled in the presbyterate because righteous.»⁷⁹ Only gnostics are fit and prepared for such higher works.⁸⁰

The absence of a sharp contrast between the active life and the contemplative life in the modern sense, or even in the sense of two separate phases, is notable. «Contemplation is the Gnostic's chief delight, the next is active beneficence, the third is instruction, the work of making others like himself,» writes Charles Bigg.⁸¹ Gnostics is active, an *energeia*.⁸² Hence, rather than a phase of action followed by another phase of contemplation, the two lives each consist of a way of knowing — faith or gnosis — expressed in a form of action — self-control, or beneficence, teaching, and governing. Nevertheless, Clement follows Plato and Philo in characterizing the two lives or the two successive phases in terms of *theoria* and *praxis*,⁸³ or, using more religious terminology, with *erga* and *gnosis*.⁸⁴ And for him there comes a time when all work in behalf of others comes to an end. Then those «who are Israelites indeed, who are pure in heart, in whom there is no guile... do not remain in the seventh seat, the place of rest, but are promoted, through the active beneficence of the divine likeness, to the heritage of beneficence which is the eighth level; devoting themselves to the pure vision (*epopteia*) of insatiable contemplation (*theoria*).»⁸⁵ This is said of the future life of the gnostic in the next world; one who has engaged in «well-doing» in imitation of God in this life and has become *isangelos* is advanced to the highest «man-sion» of the heavens.

As always, Clement mentions purity of heart before making any reference to seeing God.⁸⁶ Purity of heart, then, comes as a result of gnosis and acts as a preparation for *epopteia* or *theoria*. *Theoria* is the summit of gnosis and the goal of the spiritual life. Like gnosis, therefore, it requires God's grace, a new heart, new spiritual senses

⁷⁷ Strom., 6, 13, 106, 2 (G.C.S., p. 484).

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ Strom., 6, 13, 105, 1 (G.C.S., p. 485), tr. Wilson, p. 365.

⁸⁰ Strom., 6, 14, 112, 1 (G.C.S., pp. 487-488).

⁸¹ Bice, p. 96. He refers to Strom., 4, 22, 136, 1 ff. (G.C.S., p. 308).

⁸² Strom., 4, 6, 39, 2 (G.C.S., p. 265).

⁸³ Strom., 7, 16 (P.G., 13, 541 A).

⁸⁴ Strom., 6, 39, 2 (G.C.S., p. 265).

⁸⁵ Strom., 6, 14, 108, 1 (G.C.S., p. 486), tr. Wilson, p. 367.

⁸⁶ According to Stählin's *Chalcentagister* Clement quotes the beatitude of the pure in heart 21 times, and this is usually as an indispensable preliminary to *theoria*.

⁸⁷ Strom., 5, 1, 7, 7 (Message Evangelique)
⁸⁸ Strom., 7, 7 (P.G.,
⁸⁹ Strom., 7, 7 (P.G.,
⁹⁰ Strom., 6, 9, 73, 3
⁹¹ Strom., 7, 11 (P.G.,
⁹² Strom., 7, 6 (P.G.,
⁹³ Strom., 4, 18, 117,
⁹⁴ Strom., 6, 14, 58, 1

bestowed by the Sa
 vision in the future
 all active service ha
 through gnosis in t
 says, «un état stabl
 ascent of the soul t
 we have seen, by I
 to arrive at the he
 mansion of the Pro
 whose nature the sc
 This is the highest
 in the flesh. It is n
 cleave not the air c
 with the speed of l
 passion through love
 the gnostic soul w
 to fear: «Cleansed,
 right well that it w
 escape the eschat
 sinful souls but pe
 elude the clutches
 in any worldly thin
 Ascending beyond
 eighth day, the dwe
 Priest. There for the
 In conclusion, v
 incorporated the P
 the influence of ang
 and of the discern
 and Christian trad
 Identifying *apathe*
 evil actions but fro
 purity of heart in t

bestowed by the Saviour.⁸⁷ Clement speaks of it both as the beatific vision in the future life, when the flesh has been laid aside and when all active service has ceased, and as something that can be anticipated through gnosis in the present life. For gnosis is, as Daniélou rightly says, «un état stable qui anticipe sur la vie éternelle».⁸⁸ It is also an ascent of the soul through the angelic «mansions» in the heavens. As we have seen, by purity of heart in the present life it is possible to arrive at the hebdomad, the seventh day, the place of rest, the mansion of the Protocists. These are the seven principal archangels, whose nature the soul takes on as it enters their successive mansions. This is the highest ascent and form of contemplation possible while in the flesh. It is made in the thoughts: «the thoughts of the saints cleave not the air only, but the whole world. And the divine power, with the speed of light, sees through the whole soul».⁸⁹ It is antipathion through love, which needs neither time nor place.⁹⁰ After death the gnostic soul which has been sufficiently purified will not need to fear: «Cleanse, so to speak, from all stains of the soul, he knows right well that it will be better for him after his departure».⁹¹ He will escape the eschatological purification by the «wise fire» that burns sinful souls but pervades the souls of gnostics as wisdom⁹² and will include the clutches of the angels who take toll of «those who bring in any worldly things, who are burdened with their own passions».⁹³ Ascending beyond these barriers, he will arrive at the ogdoad, the eighth day, the dwelling place of the Lord, the Logos, the eternal High Priest. There for the pure in heart contemplation will be face to face.⁹⁴ In conclusion, we find that Clement, possibly following Philo, has incorporated the Platonic vocabulary of *katharsis* of the *nous* from the influence of anger and desire and the Stoic terminology of *apatheia* and of the discernment of thoughts and phantasies into the Jewish and Christian traditions of demonic influences and evil thoughts. Identifying *apatheia* with Christ's command to abstain not only from evil actions but from willful thoughts of evil (which is one aspect of purity of heart in the Gospel), he gave it its first real entrance into

⁸⁷ Strom., 5, 1, 7 (G.C.S., p. 330).
⁸⁸ Message Évangélique et Culture Hellénistique, p. 411.
⁸⁹ Strom., 7, 7 (P.G., 13, 453 A), tr. Wilson, p. 433. Cf. Const. Ap., 7, 33, 3, ed. Funk, p. 42.
⁹⁰ the present world is a passing vanity; the only true joy is for the good conscience to ascend to the middle of the heavens and enjoy the future delights of the right hand in soul, even before the resurrection of the body.
⁹¹ Strom., 6, 9, 73, 3 (G.C.S., p. 46).
⁹² Strom., 7, 11 (P.G., 13, 487 C).
⁹³ Strom., 7, 6 (P.G., 13, 449 B), tr. Wilson, p. 407.
⁹⁴ Strom., 4, 18, 117, 2 (G.C.S., p. 299), tr. Wilson, p. 193.
⁹⁵ Strom., 6, 14, 58, 1 (G.C.S., p. 486), 7, 3 (P.G., 13, 416 C).

as the apostles»⁷⁸ church, and a true and teach what is the ed righteous because because righteous»⁷⁹ or works.⁸⁰ e active life and the in the sense of two the Gnostic's chief it is instruction, the Charles Bigg.⁸¹ Gnostics of action followed es each consist of a a form of action — ing. Nevertheless, Cle- the two lives or the axis,⁸² or, using more for him there comes to an end. Then those rt, in whom there is re place of rest, but the divine likeness, the divine level; devoting ghth level; contemplation gnostic in the next imitation of God in to the highest «man- before making any comes as a result of r *theoria*. *Theoria* is ual life. Like gnosis, new spiritual senses

Eastern patristic and monastic spirituality. Clement departed, however, from the concept of *apathēia* held by the Stoics and by Philo in making it result from gnosis, as G. Bardy points out in his article on *apathēia* in the *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité*.⁵⁵ This seems to reflect a Jewish-Christian influence, as can be seen in the following passage from the *Pseudo-Clementine Homilies*, where purity of heart and body is said to result from gnosis: «For when the mind is enlightened by gnosis, then the disciple is able to be good and thereupon purity follows, for from the understanding within a good care of the body without follows.»⁵⁶ Clement also introduced the Stoic practice of keeping guard at the door of the heart, which he identified with the earlier more general Christian attempt to keep the dispositions or «thoughts» of the heart pure.

III. ORIGEN

Heart

In the course of his writings Origen several times found it necessary to explain the use of the word «heart» in various Biblical passages. In doing so he followed his exegetical principle of «homonymy», whereby in the Scriptures «non-corporeal things are denominated by homonyms of all the corporeal things.»⁵⁷ Thus he explains, a propos of the beatitude of the pure of heart who will see God, that it is not really a question of «heart» and «seeing» but that these are metaphors, «homonymy», for «mind» and «knowing»:

«For what else is 'to see God in the heart' but to understand and know him with the mind, just as we have explained above? For the names of the organs of sense are often applied to the soul, so that we speak of seeing with eyes of the heart, that is, of drawing some intellectual conclusion by means of the faculty of intelligence. So too we speak of the soul as being able to use teeth... By this divine sense (Prov. II, 5), therefore, not of the eyes but of a pure heart, that is, the mind, God can be seen by those who are worthy. That heart is used for mind (*mens*), that is for the intellectual faculty,

⁵⁵ D.S., I, 731.

⁵⁶ *Pseudo-Clementine Homilies* 28-29 (P. G., 2, 296-297). Tr. SMITH et al., p. 290.

⁵⁷ *Dialektos pros Herakleidan*, II, ed. J. SCHERER (*Sources chrétiennes*, 67; Paris, Cerf, 1960), p. 78.

⁵⁸ MONT, *Sens des Noms du* 1950], pp. 68-69). Nevertheless the middle of the body, 29 (P.G., 14, 177 C-D; 22,

In the sense in which Plato speaks of the organ which sees, which for Plato is contemplating God; it is known as *monition*, as in the *Songs*, where he is its Biblical equivalent: «We find the [descriptions of Origen] according to the fact that sometimes it are the clear (Rom. 10, 10), and the understanding of Jesus amid According to the terms refer to the according to the Son of God.¹⁰¹ The *nalem animae virt* Guillaumont

you will find over and over in all the Scriptures, both the New and the Old.⁹⁸

In the sense in which it is used in Mt., 5, 8, then, that is, as the organ which sees God, «heart» really stands for the *mens* or *nous*, which for Plato partakes of the Divine and is alone capable of contemplating God; indeed, says Origen, God is the proper object of its knowing.⁹⁹ More often, however, Origen equates «heart» with «*hegemonikon*», as in this passage from the *Commentary on the Song of Songs*, where he is again speaking of the «heart», or what he considers its Biblical equivalents, the bosom or the breast, as the organ of religious knowledge:

«We find the *principale cordis* [= *hegemonikon* in the surviving Greek of Origen] described in the Divine Scriptures by different words according to the cases and circumstances that are being discussed. Sometimes it is simply called «the heart», as, for example: «Blessed are the clean of heart», and: «With the heart we believe unto justice» (Rom. 10, 10). But if the occasion be that of a meal, and the appearance and order of those reclining at table are being described, it is called the «bosom» or «breast». ... We are undoubtedly given to understand that John on this occasion reposed on the *hegemonikon* of Jesus amid the inward meanings of his teaching...»¹⁰⁰

According to H. Crouzel, *nous* and *hegemonikon* are synonymous for Origen and are also equivalent to the *logos*, the reason. All three terms refer to the inner man, the true and higher self, created according to the image of God, participating in the divine Logos, the Son of God.¹⁰¹ Thus we find this definition: *Sed sciendam est rationalem animae virtutem, cor solere nominari*.¹⁰²

Guillaume stresses the intellectual significance which

⁹⁸ *Peri Archon*, I, 1, 9 (P.G., 11, 129 B-C), tr. G. W. Buttermworth, *Origen on First Principles* (London, S.P.C.K., 1956), p. 14.
⁹⁹ *Peri Archon*, I, 1, 7 (P.G., 11, 128 A); see also *Dialektikos pros Herakleidan*, 22, 19 (Source of the *Commentary*, p. 98).
¹⁰⁰ *Commentary on Cant. Cantabrum*, I, 1, 9 (P.G., 11, 129 B), tr. R. F. Lawson (Ancient Christian Writers, 26; Westminster, Md., 1957), p. 64.
¹⁰¹ H. Crouzel, *Théologie de l'Image de Dieu chez Origène* (Paris, Aubier, 1956), p. 159.
¹⁰² *Comm. in Ep. ad Rom.*, 2, 9 (P.G., 14, 893 A). A. Guillaume has pointed out that this interpretation of the Biblical «heart» does not in any way imply the physical location of the *nous* in the heart, as with certain later monastic writers. In following this interpretation Origen accepts *kardia* in its Biblical usage as purely a metaphor for *hegemonikon*, to be understood spiritually rather than literally of the physical heart, and leaves unresolved the question of the actual location of the intellect, whether in the heart or in the head (cf. A. Guillaumont, *Sens des Noms du Cœur dans l'Antiquité*, in *Le Cœur [Études Carmelitaines]*, Bruges, 1950), pp. 68-69). Nevertheless, he interprets John, 1, 26, 27, to mean that as the heart is in the middle of the body, so the *hegemonikon* or *logos* is within the heart (*Comm. in Io.*, 2, 29 (P.G., 14, 177 C-D; 22, 264 D-265 A)).

ment departed, however Stoics and by Philo points out in his article. This seems to reflect the following passage purity of heart and mind is enlightened and thereupon purity of the body the Stoic practice of the identified with the dispositions or

times found it necessary: various Biblical passages of «homonymy», s are denominated by the explains, a proposed see God, that it is out that these are meaning:

but to understand and explained above? For the at is, of drawing some y of intelligence. So too teeth... By this divine s but of a pure heart, who are worthy. That the intellectual faculty,

SMITH et. al., p. 290.
Chrétiennes, 67; Paris, Cerf.

Origen attributes to the heart, and this aspect, basic to the Biblical meaning, is certainly borne out by the statement that «'heart' pertains to thought (*phronema*)»,¹⁰³ and by his explanation of the name Caleb, which he interprets as *quasi cor*, «like the heart» (*leb* in Hebrew):

«Who then is 'like the heart' but he who in all things devotes himself to the work of the mind, who is not said to be any member of the body of the Church other than that which is the noblest part of us, the heart: that is, one who does all things with reason and prudence, and thus acts as though he were nothing but heart?»¹⁰⁴

But in the following sentences Origen goes on to say that Caleb is the son of Jephonne, whose name means conversion, so that «heart is the son, the fruit, of conversion. Therefore anyone who devotes himself to the divine senses and does everything prudently and wisely is Caleb.»¹⁰⁵ Origen's intellectualism was tempered by the fact that he agreed with the Stoics, the Jewish rabbis, and the New Testament that knowledge should bear fruit in works and that it results from virtue, since he does not divorce the practical and speculative intel-

lects.¹⁰⁶

Moreover, Origen speaks of gnosis of Scripture as not purely a matter of speculative study but as a sudden illumination.¹⁰⁷ Its object is the same as that of faith, but in gnosis it is grasped immediately through the five spiritual senses. As we have seen, the heart itself is sometimes called «the divine sense.» Its five spiritual senses are metaphors for the heart's immediate seizure of spiritual things.¹⁰⁸ This includes, we have noted, the possibility of contemplating God. Hence it functions as the faculty of gnosis and *theoria* in a way that combines intuition and ratiocination, speculation and mysticism, contradictory as this may seem.¹⁰⁹

In interpreting «heart» as *hegemonikon*, nous, or its equivalents, the divine sense in man which contemplates God, Origen meant the part of the soul which existed as pure nous in its original state before

¹⁰³ *Dialektos pros Herakleidan*, 9, 10, p. 74.
¹⁰⁴ *In Librum Iesu Nave* hom. 18 (P. G., 12, 913 D-914 A).
¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 18 (P. G., 12, 914 C).
¹⁰⁶ Cf. *infra*, p. 30. Cf. TAVARES-BRITENKOURT, pp. 106-107.
¹⁰⁷ *Comm. in Cant. Canticothum*, I (P. G., 13, 85 B-C). Cf. I. HAUSHEER, *Contemplation des Orientaux Chrétiens: Historique*, D.S., 2, 1820-21.
¹⁰⁸ Cf. *Pert Archon*, 2, 4, 3 (P. G., 11, 4517 A); *Ibid.* pros Herakl., 16 (*Sources chrétiennes*, pp. 88-98). This theme has been most fully studied by Kari RAHNER, *Le Début d'une Doctrine des Cinq Sens Spirituels chez Origène* in *Revue d'Ascétique et de Mystique*, 13 (1932), pp. 113-145.
¹⁰⁹ Cf. I. HAUSHEER, R. ROQUES, M. VILLER, *Contemplation des Orientaux Chrétiens: Vocabulaire*, D.S., 2, 1770-71.

its Fall from the any in a body as punis to a lower animal p Other passages, the *hegemonikon* b contradiction to the faculty, akin to G the human *hegemo* *hegemonikon* of an and *phantasiai*.¹¹¹ A belief of Christians: which arise evil tho authority most fre 21-23,¹¹² which Clem to say about this b apparently, of this to be the source of: speaks of the heart ting it with the *heg* «Whether our against the spu which is a *ho* called the hear In the *Pert Archon* ciple, the lower of t that is lower and e It seems, ther established interpr or even three, mee Philo he speaks of *hegemonikon*, its and evil, heavenly e or below which pre

its Fall from the angelic world. Afterwards, when the soul was clothed in a body as punishment, the *nous* became *psyche* and was joined to a lower animal part of the soul, close to the flesh.¹¹⁰

Other passages, however, in which the heart is also equated with the *hegemonikon* but as the source of evil thoughts, seem to be in contradiction to the passages in which it is called man's most spiritual faculty, akin to God. Writing as a philosopher Origen teaches that the human *hegemonikon* is moved by thoughts, *logismoi*, while the *hegemonikon* of animals and the human *psyche* are moved by *ormai* and *phantasiai*.¹¹¹ And he proposes the following idea as the common belief of Christians: «We hold the heart to be the *hegemonikon*, within which arise evil thoughts» (*noemata* and *dialogismoi*).¹¹² The Scriptural authority most frequently cited is Mt., 15, 19, or its parallel, Mk., 7, 21-23,¹¹³ which Clement also quoted. We shall have a great deal more to say about this important theme of «evil thoughts.» On the basis, apparently, of this text, where the evil thoughts of the heart are said to be the source of all moral delilement, in one passage Origen actually speaks of the heart as a principle of evil, along with the body, equating it with the *hegemonikon* as «the soul of all flesh»:

«Whether our wrestling be against the flesh that lusts and wars against the spirit, or against 'the soul of all flesh' (Lev., 17, 11, Sept.) which is a *homonym* for the *hegemonikon* dwelling in the body, called the heart.»¹¹⁴

In the *Peri Archon* «the soul of the flesh» is described as the evil principle, the lower of the two souls, «one good and heavenly and another that is lower and earthly,» which Origen postulates.¹¹⁵ It seems, therefore, that Origen did not have a single firmly established interpretation for the heart, but wavered between two, or even three, meanings. For in another explanation also based on Philo he speaks of the heart or the soul (*anima, psyche*) and of the *hegemonikon*, its guiding principle, as capable of being both good and evil, heavenly and earthly, according to the influences from above or below which prevail in it and arouse good or evil thoughts.

¹¹⁰ Cf. H. Crouzet, *Origène, Précurseur du Monachisme*, in *Théologie de la Vie Monastique* (Paris, Aubier, 1961), p. 27.
¹¹¹ *Peri Archon*, 2, 8, 1 (P.G., 11, 219 A); *Contra Celsum*, 4, 85 (P.G., 11, 1160). See Crouzet, *Théologie de l'Image*, p. 159, note 85.
¹¹² *In 1er. hom.*, 5, 15 (P.G., 13, 320 A).
¹¹³ Cf. especially *Comm. in Matth.*, 11, 15 (P.G., 13, 952 B); *In Num. hom.*, 13, 2 (P.G., 12, 668-669).
¹¹⁴ *De Oratione*, 29, 2 (P.G., 11, 532).
¹¹⁵ *Peri Archon*, 3, 4, 3 (P.G., 11, 323 C).

asic to the Biblical
 at «heart» pertains
 of the name Caleb,
 » (Ieb in Hebrew):

things devotes himself
 : any member of the
 ie noblest part of us,
 reason and prudence,
 cart?»¹⁰⁴

o say that Caleb is
 sion, so that «heart
 anyone who devotes
 urdently and wisely
 ed by the fact that
 the New Testament
 that it results from
 nd speculative intel-

ure as not purely a
 nation.¹⁰⁷ Its object
 grasped immediately
 een, the heart itself
 spiritual senses are
 f spiritual things.¹⁰⁸
 contemplating God,
heoria in a way that
 and mysticism, con-
 s, or its equivalents,
 d, Origen meant the
 original state before

AUSHAER, *Contemplation des*
 ik., 16 (Sources chrétiennes,
 ER, *Le Début d'une Doctrine*
 Mystique, 13 (1932), pp. 113-
 Orientaux Chrétiens: Vocabu-

In this first *Homily on Genesis* the «firmament of heaven» is said to stand for the *homo exterior*, the mind or the heart as the soul of man in his bodily state, located between the upper and lower waters, with its good and evil thoughts, in comparison with the «heaven» itself, the «inner man» or pure spiritual *nous* of the first creation.¹¹⁶ The heart must learn through Christ to separate its thoughts, to discern «the good from the bad, for both kinds come from the heart»; then it «will be called «heaven», that is, the heavenly man.»¹¹⁷ All this is almost pure Philo, of course.

Since Origen accepts the Biblical notion of the heart as the center of thoughts of all kinds, good as well as evil—though as a metaphor, not as the physical heart—he also considers it, as in the Bible, the source of the words and deeds that arise from the thoughts.¹¹⁸ Correlating this with the philosophical axiom that action proceeds from thought, Origen can speak of «the heart, which is the fount and source of all good works.»¹¹⁹

Other traditional Jewish and Christian elements concerning the heart were also assimilated into his synthesis by Origen. Just as it is the heart which believes¹²⁰ and contemplates God, conversely, the thickening and fattening of the heart, its loss, and even its death, express the loss of spiritual understanding.¹²¹ Its hardening he understands as «the lack of fulfillment of the good that is known.»¹²²

The heart is an altar on which the Christian offers spiritual sacrifices to God in the form of prayers, psalmody, almsgiving, any good thoughts such as thoughts of penance and conversion and especially gnostic illuminations as to the Scriptures, and bodily chastity, which for Origen means virginity: «For the heart is an altar which sanctifies the offering (*votum*) of him who is pure of heart.»¹²³ The value of these offerings depends, then, on the heart's purity. Indeed, Origen customarily adds the qualifying adjective «pure» in speaking of the heart's powers to «see» God. By its nature the

¹¹⁶ In *Gen. hom.*, 1, 2 (P.G., 12, 147 B-C).
¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*
¹¹⁸ In *Ps. 36 hom.*, 3 (P.G., 12, 1361 C); *De Oratione*, 22 (P.G., 11, 481 C); cf. also in *Numeros hom.*, 22, 1 (P.G., 12, 742 A).
¹¹⁹ *De Oratione*, 22 (P.G., 11, 481 C).
¹²⁰ *Ibid.*; in *Exod. hom.*, 13, 1 (P.G., 12, 389 A).
¹²¹ In *Lev. hom.*, 5, 4 (P.G., 12, 453 C-454 A); *Dial. pros Heracl.*, 22, 4, p. 98; in *Num. hom.*, 22, 1 (P.G., 12, 742 A); cf. G. Teichwälder, *Die Sündenlehre des Origenes* (Regensburg, Pustet, 1958), pp. 22, 200.
¹²² Teichwälder, p. 200. See references there given.
¹²³ *Comm. in Matth.*, 18 (P.G., 13, 1624); in *Lev. hom.*, 1, 5 (P.G., 12, 411); 9, 8 (P.G., 12, 519-520). Judaism already had a concept of vows, continence, and afflictive practices as spiritual sacrifices; cf. Bonsirven, p. 160 and p. 140.

¹²⁴ See *The Monastic Dial. pros Heracl.*

The heart is soiled
 is defiled by sins
 similar terms in O
 text from Proverb
 Here the passage
 aspect of the two
 Origen considers t

«I think that
 —I mean that
 of life—are d
 can say, «My
 «I am clean o
 to mean this:
 pertains to ac
 defiled by kn
 falsehood. And
 without havin

Before making
 concept for Origen
 from the passages
 trust, made in phr
 based on certain P
 ularly I Cor., 7, 3
 second and third c
 the principle of kn
 doctrine, and thou
 ple, after examin
 points of doctrine
 the necessity of g
 much stressed by
 ment and Irenaeus

Purity of Heart

hegemōnikon has t
 knowledge depends
 are lost in a habit
 itself is said to die

hegemonikon has these powers potentially rather than actually, since knowledge depends on likeness and purity, so that the spiritual senses are lost in a habitual sinner, and finally the heart or *hegemonikon* itself is said to die.

Purity of Heart

Before making a more analytical study of the meaning of this concept for Origen it is possible to gather something of its meaning from the passages which contrast it with purity of actions. This contrast, made in phrases such as «pure in body and in soul» and often based on certain Pauline passages having to do with chastity, particularly I Cor., 7, 34, and II Cor., 7, 1, was a commonplace of the second and third centuries.¹²⁴ Since for Origen the heart is above all the principle of knowing, its purity will lie in the realm of knowledge, doctrine, and thought. In the *Discussion with Heraclides*, for example, after examining Heraclides' orthodoxy in a discussion of certain points of doctrine and faith, Origen gives those present a sermon on the necessity of good works as well as faith for salvation, a theme much stressed by anti-Gnostic writers such as the author of II Clement and Irenaeus. As his text he takes Prov., 20, 9:

«I think that in the Proverbs of Solomon these two orders of things — I mean that of our faith and our knowledge and that of our way of life — are designated by Solomon in the following fashion: 'Who can say, "My heart is pure," and who will present himself saying, "I am clean of sins?"' The difference between the formulas we take pertains to actions (*praxeis*). Who can say, 'My heart is clean,' not defiled by knowledge falsely-called (I Tim., 6, 20), not polluted by falsehood. And who will present himself saying, 'I am clean of sins,' without having committed sin in his active life (*en to praktiko*)?»¹²⁵

The heart is soiled by heresy and false belief, while the whole person is defiled by sins of action. The same teaching is set forth in quite similar terms in Origen's *Commentary Series on Matthew*, where the text from Proverbs is combined with another from Psalm 23 (22). Here the passage he is commenting on leads him to stress the other aspect of the twofold general virtue of purity, that is, purity of faith. Origen considers this aspect, the aspect that concerns the heart, even

¹²⁴ See *The Monastic Concept of Purity of Heart and Its Sources*, II, p. 190 ff. *Dial. pros Heracl.*, 9, 3, ff. (*Sources chrétiennes*, p. 74).

ent of heaven» is said
heart as the soul of
er and lower waters,
n with the «heaven»
f the first creation.¹²⁶
rate its thoughts, to
ome from the heart»;
heavenly man.»¹²⁷ All

of the heart as the
is evil — though as a
o considers it, as in
that arise from the
cal axiom that action
ie heart, which is the

nents concerning the
by Origen. Just as it
God, conversely, the
and even its death,
hardening he under-
at is known.»¹²²

istian offers spiritual
ody, almsgiving, any
conversion and espe-
, and bodily chastity,
art is an altar which
pure of heart.»¹²³
on the heart's purity.
adjective «pure» in
By its nature the

11, 481 C); cf. also in Nu-

akt., 22, 4, p. 98; in Num.
e des Origènes (Regensburg.

P.G., 12, 411); 9, 8 (P.G., 12,
afflictive practices as spiri-

more important than the absence of «mortal sins» of conduct, for Gentile philosophers and heretics often live continually, but are not saved because of their false beliefs.

«I believe that a verse of Psalm 23 is intended to show that general purity lies not only in actions but also in knowledge when it says: 'Who can ascend the mountain of the Lord? or who may stand in his holy place? The innocent of hands and pure in heart.' (v. 3-4). And in Proverbs: 'Who can say, «My heart is pure» and who will present himself saying, «I am clean of sin?» (20, 9). The clean of heart and the chaste of heart I take to mean none other than one who possesses his heart clean and chaste from all false teaching: likewise the innocent of hands and the clean of sins I judge to be one who is irreprehensible in the actions of his life.»¹²⁶

These two aspects of purity cannot exist separately, for faith and knowledge are envisioned primarily as the basis of action, as in the case of Clement, and in turn depend upon upright conduct:

«It must be known that in reality it is impossible for anyone to be innocent in hands and clean from sins if he is not pure in heart and chaste from false teachings, just as inversely it is impossible for anyone to be clean and chaste of heart from false teachings without being innocent of hands and clean of sins. For these follow one another and are not separated from each other, the clean word in the soul and an irreprehensible life.»¹²⁷

Here we can note the same complementary contrast between purity of heart or soul (=thought, knowledge, doctrine) and purity of actions or behaviour that was found in the so-called II Clement and in Irenaeus, but was not very evident in Clement of Alexandria, except that there purity of actions was termed bodily purity. Whatever the influences behind the strong sense of polarity between thought and tradition as to the Greek, as can be seen by the use of such words as «heart», «hands», and «body» as well as philosophical terms like *praxis* and *theoria*. Further evidence can be seen in passages in which Origen balances a series of complementary antitheses sometimes joined by *et*, where the body is definitely named as symbolizing the principle of action. In the first chapter of his *Homilies on Leviticus*

¹²⁶ In *Marit. Comm. Series 33* (P.G., 13, 164).
¹²⁷ *Ibid.* See also *In Lev. hom.*, 12, 5 (P.G., 12, 541): spiritual virginity is purity of faith; and *Comm. in Rom.*, 2, 12 (P.G., 14, 908 C-D); 2, 13 (P.G., 12, 913).

«casti esse c
 proficere in o
 intellectibus e
 And in a Homily
 contrasted with th
 «ut corpore e
 operibus puri
 Noe's ark, lined v
 blichtheca cordis o
 «Dentius san
 confessionem
 incedens.»¹³⁰
 In all of thes
 orthodoxy, the po
 sense in which O
 Scriptural texts c
 in explaining the
 seen in the passag
 fessed, is another
 the place of belie
 to form a triad th
 division into body
 function of acts,
 signified not mer
 person is involved
 confiteri, operibu

Origen urges his
 type refer to bod
 heart):

Origen urges his congregation as follows (the phrases in ordinary type refer to bodily purity while those in italics refer to purity of heart):

«casti esse corpore, *recti mente; mundi corde, moribus emendati; proficere in operibus, vigilare in scientia; fide, et actibus; gestis, et intellectu* esse perfecti...»¹²⁸

And in a Homily on Exodus the bodily purity of works is again contrasted with the spiritual purity of the thoughts:

«ut corpore et *spiritus sanctus sit* (I Cor., 7, 34), et *cogitationibus et operibus purus sit*.»¹²⁹

Noe's ark, lined with pitch inside and outside, is compared to a *bi-bliotheca cordis* or to an *anima fidelis*:

«*Deintus* sane et deforis bituminabis eam, *corde fidem* gerens, ore confessionem proferens; *intus corde mundus, foris castus corpore incensus*.»¹³⁰

In all of these passages purity of heart is explained simply as orthodoxy, the possession of correct faith and knowledge. This is one sense in which Origen interprets the phrase, especially in regard to Scriptural texts contrasting heart and hands or body, or sometimes in explaining the triad heart, lips, and body or hands. For as we have seen in the passage just quoted, the mouth, by which Christ is professed, is another principle of external action in contrast to the heart, the place of belief. Sometimes it is added to the heart-body duality to form a triad that will include the whole man according to St. Paul's division into body, soul, and spirit (I Thess., 5, 23), with the respective function of acts, words, and thoughts.¹³¹ Thus the New Covenant is signified not merely by a circumcision of the flesh, but the whole person is involved: «*Nobis autem praeste Dominus corde credere, ore confiteri, operibus comprobare*...»¹³² And sin may be committed in

¹²⁸ In Lev. hom., 1, 5 (P.G., 12, 411).
¹²⁹ In Exod. hom., 9, 4 (P.G., 12, 368 B).
¹³⁰ In Gen. hom., 2, 6 (P.G., 12, 174 B); cf. 2, 4 (P.G., 12, 170 C). These formulas are derived from Rom., 10, 9-10, «For if thou confess with thy mouth that Jesus is the Lord, and believe in thy heart that God has raised him from the dead, thou shalt be saved. For with the heart a man believes unto justice, and with the mouth profession of faith is made unto salvation.»
¹³¹ In Exod. hom., 3, 5 (P.G., 12, 313); cf. TEICHTWEIER, p. 206. For a list of the passages containing the triad «thoughts, words, and deeds», see JAVARRAS-BERTENCOURT, p. 76, note 86.
¹³² In Gen. hom., 3, 7 (P.G., 12, 185 C).

is» of conduct, for nently, but are not

to show that general vledge when it says: r who may stand in re in heart' (v. 34). pure» and who will (20, 9). The clean of none other than one n all false teaching: of sins I judge to be life.»¹²⁶

tely, for faith and of action, as in the t conduct:

ble for anyone to be not pure in heart and it is impossible for use teachings without or these follow one r, the clean word in

cast between purity and purity of actions Clement and in Ir-Alexandria, except ury. Whatever the between thought and the Judeo-Christian se of such words as sophical terms like n passages in which withesses sometimes as symbolizing the omilies on Leviticus

virginity is purity of faith;

act, word, or thought. But though as for Clement all three of these functions must be included for purity of heart,¹³³ it is specifically the thoughts, the province of the heart for Origen, that are involved. The heart is circumcised by removing evil thoughts and false opinions;¹³⁴ justful desires and heretical opinions.¹³⁵ To those so circumcised Origen applies the beatitude of Mt. 5, 8. «Evil thoughts» and «justful desires» (probably *epithymiai*) are often synonymous in the Bible and in the writings of the Fathers, and as the sources of sin are in a different category from «false» or «heretical opinions». Freedom from evil thoughts in this less intellectual sense is what Origen most often meant by purity of heart. In the *Contra Celsum* he defines «a pure heart» as one «from which evil thoughts no longer proceed».¹³⁶ Many other passages could be adduced to show the relationship between purity of heart and evil thoughts for Origen, but these will perhaps suffice for the moment, as the point will become abundantly clear in the following pages.

Thus purity of heart in the thought of Origen is mainly concerned with freedom from false doctrines and from «evil thoughts» in the sense that was technical for him and that was very close to both Biblical and monastic usage. Actually, for Origen there is an intellectual element in every sin, as «Every sin is always the fruit of illusion proceeding from a defect in faith or knowledge... The sinner is lacking the supernatural light, the Logos, and every sin is an act that is *alogos* (unreasonable).»¹³⁷ The influence of Stoicism here is obvious.

Before concluding this brief analysis of the phrase «purity of heart», which has been undertaken more on the level of vocabulary than of concepts, it must be noted that, mainly because of the influence of the beatitude of Mt. 5, 8, purity of heart is very frequently mentioned by Origen as by Clement as an indispensable prerequisite for «seeing God» in some form of gnosis or contemplation, and usually a rather advanced form.¹³⁸

¹³³ We make the three days' journey out of the Egypt of this world «if purifying our words, deeds, and thoughts (for these are the three ways in which men can sin), we become pure in heart, so that we can see God» (*ibid.*).
¹³⁴ In *Ier. hom.*, 5, 15 (P.G., 13, 320 A).
¹³⁵ In *Gen. hom.*, 3, 6 (P.G., 12, 181 A-B).
¹³⁶ *Contra Celsum*, 7, 33 (P.G., 11, 1468 B).
¹³⁷ See references in HAVSHER, ROQUES, VILLER, *Contemplation des Orientaux Chrétiens: vocabulaire*, D.S., 2, 1770. In one passage, *Strom.*, 7, 4 (P.G., 13, 436 B), Clement speaks of true purity as involving thought in the sense of right doctrine, but this is exceptional, more often he interprets it as the absence of evil in the thoughts.
¹³⁸ TAVARES-BETTENCOURT, pp. 89-90.

¹³⁹ According to von
¹⁴⁰ *Contra Celsum*, 7,
¹⁴¹ p. 101 ff.
¹⁴² H. VON BALTRASAR, *Die h*
¹⁴³ *nastie sources logismoi*
¹⁴⁴ tion for distinguishing
¹⁴⁵ the surrounding context.
¹⁴⁶ *moetheros* must accomp
¹⁴⁷ meaning of «evil thought
¹⁴⁸ *noemata*, in a pejorative
¹⁴⁹ *Contra Celsum*, 7,
¹⁵⁰ In *Num. hom.*, 13, 1 (P.G.
¹⁵¹ In *Lev. hom.*, 8, 1
¹⁵² In *Ies. Nav. hom.*
¹⁵³ *Pert Archon*, 3, 2,

This last statement of the achievement of the firm notion of the what is of particular —murders, adulteries is an evil thought —vidual evil thought or disposition. As cupiscence, and Origen be identified with The individual sires. As equivalent «*tenationum moti* may arise from for or diabolical.¹⁴³ Th

Let us now see which have their bined Mt., 15, 19 complete synthesis

Evil Thoughts

Evil Thoughts

Let us now consider what Origen means by the «evil thoughts» which have their seat in the heart.¹³⁹ In the *Contra Celsum* he combined Mt., 15, 19 and several other texts to form a brief but rather complete synthesis of the Biblical meaning of purity of heart:

«That which sees God is a pure heart, from which evil thoughts no longer proceed, nor murders, nor adulteries, nor fornications, nor thefts, nor false witnessings, nor blasphemies, nor an evil eye, nor any other evil deed (Mt., 15, 19; Mk., 7, 21-22). That is why it is said: «Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God» (Mt., 5, 8). However, since our will is not sufficiently strong for us to be entirely pure in heart, and because we need God to create it entirely pure, the man who prays with understanding says, 'Create in me a clean heart, O God' (Ps., 50 (51), 12).»¹⁴⁰

This last statement is very clear regarding the need for grace for the achievement of purity of heart, though Origen did not have a firm notion of the heart as ontologically renewed at baptism. But what is of particular interest at this point is the list of «evil thoughts» — murders, adulteries, fornications, etc. Each of the vices mentioned is an evil thought both in the sense of a habit and as the act or individual evil thought that arises in the heart from this habitual tendency or disposition. As habits «evil thoughts» can be equated with concupiscent, and Origen explicitly makes this equation.¹⁴¹ They can also be identified with the passions in the Stoic sense.

The individual evil thoughts are actually temptations or evil desires. As equivalents for «*cogitationes malae*» Rufinus uses the terms «*tentationum motus*» and «*consilium peccati*».¹⁴² These (*dia*) *logismoi* may arise from four different sources, purely human, angelic, divine, or diabolical.¹⁴³ That is why the Christian should exercise himself in

¹³⁹ According to von Balhassar, Origen generally uses the word «thoughts» (*dia*) *logismoi*, meaning of «evil thought» for him. In his genuine works an adjective such as *poneros* or *noemata*, in a pejorative sense, though the word «thought» used alone does not have the surrounding context. Father von Balhassar has suggested this stylistic feature as one criterion for distinguishing texts by Origen from those by Evaristus in the Catenae. In the monastic sources *logismoi* used alone and unmodified has the meaning of «evil thoughts». Cf. H. von Balhassar, *Die Hieria des Evaristus*, in *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie*, 63 (1939), p. 101 ff.

¹⁴⁰ *Contra Celsum*, 7, 33 (P.G., 11, 1168 B), tr. CHADWICK (Cambridge, 1953), p. 421. Cf. also in Numm. hom., 13, 1 (P.G., 12, 668 D).

¹⁴¹ In Lev. hom., 8, 7 (P.G., 12, 500 D); *ibid.*, 9, 5 (516 C).

¹⁴² In Lev. hom., 22, 2 (P.G., 12, 927 D), 930 B.

¹⁴³ *Pert Archon*, 3, 2, 4 (P.G., 11, 308 C).

on des Orientaux Chrétiens:
6 B), Clement speaks of true
s is exceptional; more often

his world «if purifying our
men can sin), we become

all three of these
it is specifically the
are involved. The
and false opinions;¹³⁴
those so circumscribed
thoughts» and «justifi-
ous in the Bible and
of sin are in a dif-
ons». Freedom from
at Origen most often
he defines «a pure
er proceed.»¹³⁶ Many
relationship between
these will perhaps
abundantly clear in
is mainly concerned
evil thoughts» in the
very close to both
an there is an intel-
always the fruit of
wledge... The sinner
every sin is an act
of Stoicism here is
e phrase «purity of
level of vocabulary
because of the in-
art is very frequently
sensible prerequisite
tation, and usually

Words also originate ultimately either from God or from Satan and are arrows or seed.¹⁵² Every false word or evil thought is an adulteration of the one true Word, the Logos, and an image and participation in the Alogos One, or Satan.¹⁵³ But words effect this transformation only because they produce thoughts or impulses that enter the heart or the mind: from their very nature evil thoughts alone «immediately strike the *hegemonikon* or *logos* itself in the soul».¹⁵⁴ Thus Christ, the Logos, gives way to Satan, the Alogos, within the soul, which participates in the Devil and becomes conformed to his image.¹⁵⁵ Because of their power to effect this transformation, evil thoughts are the demons' chief weapon: «The most important part of the Devil's kingdom and power lies mainly in the thoughts».¹⁵⁶ Hence all the demons' artifices are ultimately aimed at the one goal of arousing them, and of the three ways of committing sin, through deeds, words, and thoughts, they retain power longest over the thoughts, as sins of thought, the final obstacle to purity of heart, are the last kind to be overcome.¹⁵⁷

Origen took over the Biblical and Judaean-Christian notion of «evil thoughts» as it had been developed by Philo, Hermas, the Pseudo-Clementines, Clement of Alexandria, and others, and combined it with elements from Stoicism and Platonism in his system, notably the idea of guarding the mind against the passions and the concept of *apatheia*. We must agree with G. Teichtwieser¹⁵⁸ that in its origin the Alexandrian's teaching on the evil thoughts of the heart as the source of sin is pure New Testament and has nothing to do with Stoicism and Platonism. The statement of Tavares-Bettencourt¹⁵⁹ that the collective concept of evil thoughts in Origen is the equivalent of the Hebrew *yezer hara* or evil inclination is also indisputable, as the two were already associated in Genesis, 6, 5: «The whole inclination (*yezer*) of the thoughts of his heart is to evil all the day».

Like most of the other Fathers, Origen treats of the Christian higher moral teaching concerning the importance of preserving purity of intention and the evil of sins of thought. In a passage from the *Contra Celsum* he again quotes several of the Biblical texts concerned

¹⁵² See TAVARES-BETTENCOURT, p. 35 ff.
¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, pp. 35 and 77.
¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 77.
¹⁵⁵ See *In Gen. hom.*, 13, 3 (P.G., 12, 234 A).
¹⁵⁶ In *Num. hom.*, 13, 1 (P.G., 12, 667 D).
¹⁵⁷ Cf. note 133 above.
¹⁵⁸ TEICHTWIESER, p. 111.
¹⁵⁹ TAVARES-BETTENCOURT, p. 78, note 99.

mm. in Jo. 2 (G.C.S., p. 428.
 es, 1, pp. 17, 28, 30.

of a purely psycho-
 ple of participation.
 e body or from the
 ns are increased by
 who are dominated
 er of the demons as
 rough study of Ori-
 s.¹⁴⁵ The Alexandrian
 eat or *hegemonikon*
 erative seed which
 thus causes the soul
 a son of God or of
 ces are shot by the
 ce arrows from his
 of «the demons of
 Prophets, the Shep-
 stic Basilides, etc.¹⁴⁶
 of Songs Origen ac-
 erpreting the word
 demons themselves:
 of men' which come
 recognizes invisibly
 ts to men».¹⁵⁰ In thus
 gen is also equating
 denial that they are
 denial Father Da-
 seems to be that the
 mains true that for
 Thus there is in every
 c aspect».¹⁵¹ It is the
 re when writing as a
 er was stressed when

with purity of heart and relates the effort to avoid evil thoughts with purity of heart and with the vision of God, showing the same comprehensive and synthetic view as in the paragraph from the same work quoted above:

«He (Celsus) also says that we 'see nothing pure,' though we try to avoid being defiled by the lusts of evil even in our thoughts (Mt., 5, 28), and say in our prayer, 'Create in me a clean heart, O God, and renew a right spirit within my being' (Ps., 50 (51), 12), in order that we may see God with a pure heart (Mt., 5, 8), which alone has power to see Him.»¹⁶⁰

We note the traditional apologetic point of the superiority of the Christian ethic, which demands purity even in thought.¹⁶¹ He also accepted the Christian idea that though the two Testaments are inseparably united, this ethic represents an advance over the Old Testament Law and its fulfillment. The reason Origen puts forward for its being an advance is the same as that given by Clement, that is, that it forbids the passions: Christ's higher moral demand «is not contrary to the Law, but more perfect than the Law, so that whereas the Law forbids murder, Jesus also dries up anger, and whereas the Law prohibits adultery, Jesus also cuts off concupiscence from the heart.»¹⁶² Again we have an interpretation of Mt. 5, 20 ff. which identifies «evil thoughts» with the passions and purity of heart with *apatheia*. And in the *Fifteenth Homily on Iosue* he also teaches that Christianity requires not only the non-fulfillment of evil passion or thought in action, but even its absence, *apatheia*:

«But how can we fulfill in ourselves the saying not to spare anything that breathes?... For example, if anger flares up in my heart, it may be that I will not carry out the works of anger, whether deterred by fear or inhibited because I am afraid of the judgment to come. But that does not suffice, he says, until even the movement (*commotio*) of anger has no place within you. For if the soul becomes excited and disturbed, even if it does not carry out the work, the disturbance (*perturbatio*) itself is unbecoming for one who fights under the leadership of Jesus. Similar considerations apply in the case of the vice of concupiscence, and sadness, and all the rest. With regard to

¹⁶⁰ *Contra Celsum*, 7, 45 (P.G., 11, 1485 C), tr. CHADWICK, p. 433. See also *In lev. hom.*, 5, 12 (P.G., 12, 464 B).
¹⁶¹ See *The Monastic Concept of Purity of Heart*, II, p. 183 ff. See also *In Luc. hom.*, 2 (G.C.S., pp. 12-13); *In Rom.*, 10, 14 (P.G., 14, 1275).
¹⁶² *In Lev. hom.*, 6, 3 (P.G., 12, 470 A); see note 52 above. The two notions are explicitly equated in the *Selecta in Psalmos*, *In Ps.*, 17, 21 (P.G., 12, 1232 D): «Purity of soul is *apatheia* from the grace of God together with the efforts of man.»

all these the di of them breat habit or thought and gradual such things ha the Prophet, f Blessed is he the rock' (Ps., but the evil t thoughts, while taken and dasl at his order u fore he is bless against the roc it is to be cons us that can bre

Tough sins of important to the I serious as offenses holds that «adulter than if the work ha enough. In analysi Georg Teichtweier the strict New Te Mount, as interpre the two categories Since, however, he Origen appears to and the «so-called g thoughts that are ca Teichtweier, Origen sins only to thought as in several othe «death sins» and «] in comparison to si Nevertheless, h good or evil, is de

all these the disciple of Jesus should act so that nothing whatsoever of them breathes in his heart; lest perhaps if some little vice or habit or thought is left in the heart, it may grow strong as time passes and gradually conquer, so that 'the last state of that man' to whom such things happen 'is worse than the first' (Mt., 12, 45). This is what the Prophet, foreseeing, warns about in the Psalms when he says: 'Blessed is he who takes your little ones and dashes them against the rock' (Ps., 136 (137), 9). The little ones of Babylon are nothing but the evil thoughts that confuse and disturb our heart... Which thoughts, while they are still small and only beginning, should be taken and dashed against the rock, which is Christ, and strangled at his order until nothing is left in us that breathes. Thus therefore he is blessed who takes the little Babylonians and dashes them against the rock and immediately kills them in the beginning; but it is to be considered both blessed and perfect if nothing remains in us that can breathe in a Gentile manner.¹⁶³

Though sins of thought are forbidden by Christ and are more important to the Devil than sins of word or action, they are less serious as offenses against God and are not «sins unto death».¹⁶⁴ Origen holds that «adultery that is admitted into the heart is less a sin than if the work had also been added to it»¹⁶⁵ which seems reasonable enough. In analysing Origen's concept of sins of thought¹⁶⁶ Father Georg Teichwälder finds that Origen makes certain modifications in the strict New Testament *Gesinnungsethik* of the Sermon on the Mount, as interpreted, for example, by Tertullian, who taught that the two categories of sin, thoughts and actions, are equally grave. Since, however, he still uses the word «sin» in regard to the former, Origen appears to take an intermediate stand here between Clement and the «so-called gnostic» whom the latter cites as teaching that only thoughts that are carried out in action are sinful.¹⁶⁷ According to Father Teichwälder, Origen «sees in this situation in which a man limits his sins only to thought already a first sign of a return to God».¹⁶⁸ Here as in several other passages where Origen distinguishes between «death sins» and «less serious sins» he is referring to sins of action in comparison to sins of thought or of word.¹⁶⁹

Nevertheless, he teaches that for the Christian purity or impurity, good or evil, is determined by the «thoughts» the basic motives.

¹⁶³ In *Ies. Nav. hom.*, 15, 3 (P.G., 12, 900-901).
¹⁶⁴ In *Lev. hom.*, 12 (P.G., 542 C-D).
¹⁶⁵ *Comm. in Matth.*, 12, 7 (P.G., 13, 992 A).
¹⁶⁶ Teichwälder, pp. 206-209.
¹⁶⁷ Cf. above, p. 20.
¹⁶⁸ Cf. Teichwälder, p. 209.
¹⁶⁹ In *Lev. hom.*, 14, 3 (P.G., 12, 555).

Purity of soul is *apatheia*
 two notions are explicitly

See also in *Luc. hom.*, 2

See also in *Lev. hom.*, 5.

rest. With regard to
 in the case of the
 fights under the
 work, the disturbance
 and becomes excited
 vement (*commotio*)
 gment to come. But
 whether deterred by
 in my heart, it may
 ot to spare anything

passion or thought
 teaches that Chri-
 of heart with *apa-*
 20 ff. which iden-
 sciscence from the
 , and whereas the
 v, so that whereas
 demand «is not
 Clement, that is,
 puts forward for
 ver the Old Test-
 statements are inse-
 thought.¹⁶¹ He also
 superiority of the

alone has power
 12), in order that
 heart, O God, and
 thoughts (Mt., 5,
 though we try to

from the same
 the same com-
 vil thoughts with

When the Lord comes on judgment day, He will reveal the hidden thoughts of the heart, and some actions which appeared good will be shown to have been bad or imperfect because of their motivation, as, for example, doing almsdeeds or keeping chastity motivated by a thought of vainglory, or teaching or seeking office as bishop, priest, or deacon in order to be honored by men. For «evil thoughts are capable of defiling even those things which, if they had been done without evil thoughts, would have been accounted just deeds.»¹⁷⁰

On the other hand, seemingly immoral deeds are nullified by the absence of malice in the thoughts. Using as an example the case of a violated virgin, Origen teaches that if, exceptionally, the apparently evil actions of the body do not find a corresponding desire and consent in the thoughts, the all-important essence of purity, i.e., purity of heart, remains.¹⁷¹ One who does not commit adultery in his heart cannot commit adultery in his body. Chastity that originates in the heart will purify the outer actions, but the converse is not necessarily true—one who restrains his outer actions in accord with chastity does not thereby immediately possess chastity of heart.¹⁷² «Purity of heart is what is essential. It matters more than that of the flesh and governs it.»¹⁷³

Bodily Purity

Yet purity of the flesh also has a place in his scheme. We have seen that he repeats the common formula of his time that Christians should be «pure in body and in heart,» and that, following the pattern of II Clement, Irenaeus, and Tertullian, he teaches that sins of action are connected to the body and constitute one form of bodily impurity. A second form, also removed by baptism, if received with the correct dispositions, is often designated as «uncleanliness,» (*typos, sordes*). The word comes from Job, 14, 4, which Origen is constantly quoting: «Can a man be found who is clean of defilement? There is none, however short his days.»

In the *Homilies on Luke* Origen distinguishes between these two conditions requiring purification: «Nor do 'uncleanliness' and 'sin' have the same meaning.»¹⁷⁴ There is a certain defilement connected with the body itself, with the corporeal condition resulting from the

¹⁷⁰ *Comm. in Math.*, 11, 15 (P.G., 13, 952-956).
¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 12, 7 (P.G., 12, 992 B).
¹⁷² *Comm. in Rom.*, 8, 9 (P.G., 14, 913 A).
¹⁷³ CROUZET, *Origène, Précurseur du Monachisme*, p. 30.
¹⁷⁴ *In Luc. hom.*, 14 (G.C.S., p. 85, 20).

fall of the pre-exis
 body has its own
 even to Christ, who
 There is another k
 Besides the defile
 the sense of conce
 the soul through t
 birth from a virg
 a new birth to u
 sin.»¹⁷⁵
 The soul can
 of heredity or spi
 «families» in heav
 Abraham,¹⁸⁰ for it
 Besides these inna
 and physiognomy,
 and evil during its
 Through rebir
 ement» (*katharos*
 darkly.» Perfect pi
 St. Paul's metaph
 seeing God, to pur
 the eschatological
 defilement (*katha*
 purification that is
 ing in itself, an in
 pable of removing
 Spirit on those w
 type of the eschat
 comes conformed

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 86, 1. Cf
¹⁷⁶ *Comm. in Math.*,
¹⁷⁷ *Comm. in Math.*,
 to uphold the goodness c
 notes 56 and 69), for him
 though not of the moral
 eucharist, and fasting (cf
 notion which the Aposto
 overcome, a notion which

fall of the pre-existing pure spirits: «Every soul clothed in a human body has its own uncleanness (*sordes*).»¹⁷⁵ This statement applies even to Christ, who voluntarily took on the uncleanness of the flesh.¹⁷⁶ There is another kind of impurity from which he is exempt, however. Besides the defilement inherent in the bodily condition, *sordes* in the sense of concupiscence and an innate proneness to evil come to the soul through the physical process of generation.¹⁷⁷ Because of his birth from a virgin Jesus is free from this taint.¹⁷⁸ Baptism provides a new birth to undo the effects of the first birth into a «body of sin.»¹⁷⁹

The soul can also receive evil seeds, as well as good, by a sort

of heredity or spiritual communication even before birth. There are «families» in heaven as on earth. Some souls receive the «seed of Abraham»¹⁸⁰ for instance, while others receive the «seed of Adam.»¹⁸¹ Besides these innate good and evil seeds which determine its texture and physiognomy, so to speak, the soul receives other seeds of good and evil during its life on earth in the form of words and thoughts. Through rebirth in baptism the soul becomes «clean from defilement» (*katharos apo rypou*) as well as of sin, but as «in a mirror, darkly.» Perfect purity cannot be achieved in this life. Origen applies St. Paul's metaphor in I Cor., 3, 12, originally used with regard to seeing God, to purity. Through the baptism of fire, the *mysterion* of the eschatological regeneration, the soul becomes «very clean from defilement (*katharotatos apo rypou*) face to face»;¹⁸² that is, in a purification that is fully realized. Thus baptism is both a real cleansing in itself, an inchoative conformation to Christ's resurrection capable of removing both sin and impurity and bestowing the Holy Spirit on those who approach it with the proper dispositions, and a type of the eschatological baptism of fire, whereby the Christian becomes conformed to Christ's glorified body.

between these two 'inness' and 'sin' element connected resulting from the

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 86, 1. Cf. *In Lev. hom.*, 8, 11 ff. (P.G., 12, 492 ff.).

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁷ *Comm. in Math.*, 15, 23 (P.G., 13, 1320 D-1321 A). Although Origen, like Clement, strove

to uphold the goodness of marriage against Encratites, Marcionites, and Montanists (see above, notes 56 and 69), for him there is a physical impurity connected with marital relations which, though not of the moral order, temporarily renders spouses unfit for prayer, reception of the eucharist, and fasting (cf. GROUTER, *Origène, Précurseur du Monachisme*, pp. 30-31). This is the notion which the Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus and Clement of Alexandria were trying to overcome, a notion which seems to have been derived from Jewish ritual impurity.

¹⁷⁸ *In Luc. hom.*, 14 (G.C.S., pp. 83-91).

¹⁷⁹ *In Luc. hom.*, 14 (p. 89, 12).

¹⁸⁰ *Comm. in Io.*, 20, 2 ff. (P.G., 14, 574).

¹⁸¹ *Comm. in Rom.*, 5, 1 (P.G., 14, 1009 C ff.).

¹⁸² *Comm. in Math.*, 15, 23 (P.G., 13, 1321 B).

reveal the hidden
deared good will
their motivation,
ity motivated by
as bishop, priest,
vil thoughts are
had been done
st deeds.»¹⁷⁰
nplified by the
ple the case of
y, the apparently
desire and con-
urity, i.e., purity
tery in his heart
originates in the
is not necessarily
with chastity does
«Purity of heart
flesh and governs

scheme. We have
e that Christians
wing the pattern
at sins of action
m of bodily im-
if received with
eaniness,» (*typos*,
gen is constantly
ement? There is

between these two
'inness' and 'sin'
element connected
resulting from the

Katharsis for Origen

In the full sense, then, purity of heart can only refer to something

that is achieved in the world to come: «For the true purification will come to us at the end of time.»¹⁸³ Yet there are «many purifications.» We all need purification, therefore, by great purifications. There are many and diverse purifications in store for us. But these are mystical and ineffable matters,¹⁸⁴ because they belong in part to the realm of gnosis, forming part of the mysteries of the next life. All the purifications of the present and future lives are seen as a continuum, however, as participations in the one great purification, the *mysterion* or baptism in the river of fire surrounding paradise which bestows resurrection and transfiguration.¹⁸⁵ This aspect of Origen's thought, so rich in its theological content, has been thoroughly studied by H. Urs Von Balthasar.¹⁸⁶ In Danielou's words,

«The remarkable vista thus opened up enables us to establish a relationship between the various degrees of purification. Baptism, purgatory, and the different kinds of purification achieved in the mystical life correspond to three aspects of one and the same truth, viz., that any creature seeking union with God who is holiness itself must first be cleansed from all impurity and become holy in its turn. It also gives Baptism a prophetic and eschatological character, a thing well in keeping with the economy of the sacraments, though the fact is often not appreciated.»¹⁸⁷

In this life too there are «many purifications.» This progressive character of *katharsis* is explicitly dealt with in the *Eighth Homily on Leviticus*, where Origen furnishes an allegorical interpretation of the Levitical laws of purification from leprosy in terms of the sinner who becomes reconciled to the Church through penance. The many prescriptions for verifying cleanness from leprosy and for ritual purification show «what diverse and what varied medicaments of purification» are used by Christ, the physician, to heal sin—and this is

¹⁸³ In *Luc. hom.*, 14, p. 88, 26-27. The notion that full purity of heart is eschatological may derive from the *Epistle of Barnabas*, 15, 6-7 (Loeb Library), p. 394; cf. 6, 19, p. 362.
¹⁸⁴ In *Num. hom.*, 25, 6 (P.G., 12, 770 B).
¹⁸⁵ In *Luc. hom.*, 14, p. 88. In the *Sel. in Psalms*, Ps 50 (51), 5 (P.G., 12, 1455 B), a comparison is made between the cleansing of legal defilement effected by the expiations of the old Law and the cleansing of the heart effected in baptism, here called a *mysterion*: «Again observe the *mysterion* of Christ; for the power of baptism, which excels the expiation of the Law, also effects the cleansing of the soul.»
¹⁸⁶ *Le Mysterion d'Origène*, in *Revue des Sciences Religieuses*, 26 (1936), pp. 513-562; 27 (1937), pp. 38-64.
¹⁸⁷ Origen (New York, Sheed and Ward, 1955), p. 59.

only the earliest stages of the Book of Job is indicated, he says *erit, mundus fuerit*, to me that in purification, a certain degree as high as level of purification from baptism. In several passages and justifications probably representative in the *Commentary* on, «The beginning thereby to deserve baptism). This is the purification from evil are forgiveness of sins and habits of evil thoughts should all sin. He then calls as though with the that had gone before when it attains perfection and no vestige (ves beatitudo.¹⁹⁰ It is the heart, since the the

¹⁸⁸ In *Lev. hom.*, 8, 1
¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 8, 11, 504 C.
¹⁹⁰ *Comm. in Rom.*, 4, Origen, like Clement, different levels, only doing cessation from evil things. 'Turn away from evil'—a Ps. 36 (37), 27. «Continued uncleanness... Job was from everything of his right the beginning of his righteousness of the Book of Job

only the earliest stage of purification.¹⁸⁸ The need for further purification is indicated, he says, by the use of various future tenses — *mundus erit*, *mundus fuerit*, etc. — in Leviticus. He concludes, «Hence it seems to me that in purification there are certain differences, and, so to speak, a certain progress in purgations.»¹⁸⁹

A certain degree of purity is expected to be attained even in the catechumenate. Indeed, the catechumens are encouraged to achieve as high a level of purification and holiness as possible before baptism, which is conceived as a sort of matriculation ceremony crowning their ascetical efforts as well as conferring forgiveness of sins and purification from bodily defilement as a free grace flowing from the redemption.

In several passages Origen gives a summary of the steps of conversion and justification in terminology that is strongly Biblical and probably represents a part of the traditional baptismal catechesis. In the *Commentary on Romans* he writes, «The beginning of justification by God is the faith which believes in the Justifier,» from which root the fruit of good works springs up; and a little farther on, «The beginning of the soul's conversion is to relinquish evil, and thereby to deserve to receive the forgiveness of sins» (conferred in baptism). This is the same as Clement's teaching that faith and abstinence from evil are the lowest stages of purification. Without these, forgiveness of sins cannot be given in baptism. It is mainly grave sins and habits of action that are concerned at this point, though evil thoughts should and must also be combatted as the source of all sin. He then continues, «And when it begins to do good, it is as though with these recent good deeds it covered over every evil that had gone before...» A further degree is then described: «But when it attains perfection, so that every inner root of evil is cut off, and no vestige (*vestigium*) of iniquity can be found,» it is promised beatitude.¹⁹⁰ It is this last stage that can truly be called purity of heart, since the thoughts of the heart are the root of evil.

¹⁸⁸ In *Lev. hom.*, 8, 1 (P.G., 12, 493 A).
¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 8, 11, 504 C.
¹⁹⁰ *Comm. in Rom.*, 4, 1 (P.G., 14, 965 c-966 A). In *Comm. in Rom.*, 2, 12 (P.G., 14, 899-900).
 Origen, like Clement, distinguishes between ceasing from evil and doing good as two different levels, only doing good being on the level of perfection: «Nor does perfection consist in ceasing from evil things, but in doing good things, as we are clearly taught in the psalm: Turn away from evil — and it does not stop there, but adds — 'and do good' Ps. 33 (34), 15; Ps. 36 (37), 27. «Continence from evil works... if it does not have the works of faith, is reputed uncleanliness... Job was a sincere man, without reproach, a worshipper of God, abstaining from everything evil (LXXX, Job, 1, 1, ἀνεχομένης ἀπὸ παντὸς κακοῦ ὑποκρίτης), but this was only the beginning of his righteousness, as his good works are then described in the following passages of the Book of Job. It is possible that this last text is the source of Clement and

refer to something
 re purification will
 many purifications.»
 ications. There are
 these are mystical
 part to the realm
 next life. All the
 on as a continuum,
 tion, the *mysterion*
 ise which bestows
 rigens' thought, so
 studied by H. Urs

s to establish a rela-
 ation. Baptism, pur-
 leved in the mystical
 same truth, viz., that
 ness itself must first
 in its turn. It also
 aracter, a thing well
 s, though the fact is

« This progressive
 the *Eighth Homily*
 al interpretation of
 terms of the sinner
 penance. The many
 and for ritual puri-
 ficaments of purifi-
 d sin — and this is

heart is eschatological may
 f. 6, 19, p. 362.

(1), 5 (P.G., 12, 1455 B), a
 ed by the explanations of the
 called a *mysterion*; «Again

exceeds the explanation of the
 26 (1936), pp. 513-562; 27

Though Origen clearly recognizes that ceasing from sins of ac-
chumenate, would be impossible without a participation in the re-
demption of Christ, in his reaction against the Gnostics he overly
minimizes the effects of baptism as an ontological change conveying
the seed of a new life and exaggerates the power of the word of God
received in faith during the catechetical preaching to effect this con-
version in conduct. He tells his catechumens:

"You cannot be clothed (with Christ) unless you are washed... It is
the Law of God that will wash you, that will remove your uncleanness,
and, if you hear it, will wipe away the stains of your sins... But you,
who desire to receive holy baptism, and to be promised the grace
of the Spirit, should first hear the word of God, dry up the growths
of the vices, and mend your wild and barbarous ways, so that, having
received meekness and humility, you may also be capable of contain-
ing the Holy Spirit. First therefore you should meditate on the Law
of God, so that if perhaps your actions are immoderate and your
ways unorganized, the Law of God may mend and correct you."

This expression «the Law of God» or «the word of God» applies
equally to the Old and New Testaments, since «Moses is always with
Jesus, that is, the Law with the Gospel,» as can be seen by the Trans-
figuration.¹⁹¹

Mores componere, the emendment of conduct resulting from
hearing the word of God, or «relinquishing evil and doing good,»
are also sometimes called «keeping the commandments» — which, sig-
nificantly, includes the counsels of Christ,¹⁹² and these are also
synonymous with *praxis*, or the «active life,» concerned with actions
and behaviour (*pothēia, conversatio*).¹⁹³ This is the stage called *Mo-
ralis* or *Ethike*, the first of the three stages of the spiritual life, roughly

Origen's ἀρχὴ κακῶν. A definition of beneficence is given in the *Sel. in Psalmos*, Ps. 20, 11
(P.G., 12, 1252 B): «Well-doing is to cease from sins and from evil thoughts. For the seed of
sin is evil thought (*logismos poneros*).» This seems to be a rather negative idea of doing good,
in no way distinguished from abstinance from evil, in comparison with that expressed in the
Comm. on Romans.
These are the traditional Biblical terms for conversion (see above, note 31). Besides baptis-
mal conversion, they are also used with reference to the conversion of a sinner who has
fallen away from his baptismal purity: «not that... we again feel the grace of baptism, but that
all purification from sin, even that which is sought through penance, has need of the aid of
him from whose side there came forth water and blood» (*In Lev. hom.*, 8, 10 [P.G., 12, 503 A-
B]). For other means of obtaining forgiveness of sins, see *In Lev. hom.*, 2, 4 (P.G., 12, 417 B-
419 C). The seventh and last means is this «hard and laborious» penance, in which the sinner
washes away his sins with his tears and tells his sins to a priest.
¹⁹¹ *In Lev. hom.*, 6, 2 (P.G., 12, 467-468).
¹⁹² *Pert. Archon*, 3, 1, 15 (P.G., 11, 278 B).
¹⁹³ *Comm. in Cant. Cantic.*, *Prol.* (P.G., 13, 75 C).

A point to be
templation and acti

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*
¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 4, 15 (P.G.,
¹⁹⁶ That is, contempla-
tion. See M. Haur, *Origène*
Paris, Ed. du Seuil, 1958).
¹⁹⁷ *Contra Celsum*, 8,

equivalent to what
other two stages b
native and contem
help the «little ones
teaches that all Chr
it is clear that the
the beginning.
Just as «reling
nouncing Satan an
«doing good» consi
as the sum of all
ideas, the Image o
As the soul acquir
God and frees its
animal soul. A pa
process requires co
— Origen customar
question of contem
formed in the soul
the Holy Spirit or t
reminiscent of Phil

«Images and v
the virtues wh
him there are
and the other
to imitate him
the Creator» ((
a pure heart, I
And speaking
we have mentio
which receive
which we have
Creator becaus
sits upon those

equivalent to what later became known as the purgative way, the other two stages being the *Physica* and the *Mystica*, or the illuminative and contemplative ways.¹⁹⁴ Since Origen says that the angels help the «little ones» to discern and reject evil thoughts,¹⁹⁵ and since he teaches that all Christians are obliged to refrain from sinful thoughts, it is clear that the practice of guarding against them is included from the beginning.

Just as «relinquishing evil» in the pre-baptismal rite meant renouncing Satan and the works which assimilated the soul to him,

«doing good» consists essentially in an imitation of Christ, the Logos, as the sum of all the virtues and the living and personal world of ideas, the Image of God according to which the soul was created. As the soul acquires the virtues, it gradually regains its likeness to God and frees its logos from the domination of the body and the animal soul. A passage from the *Contra Celsum* shows that this process requires contemplation of God in Christ «with a pure heart» — Origen customarily adds this qualification whenever there is any question of contemplation —¹⁹⁶ and that after the virtues of Christ are formed in the soul by alternating contemplation and active imitation, the Holy Spirit or the whole Trinity comes to dwell in it (a statement reminiscent of Philo):

«Images and votive offerings... formed in us by the divine Logos are the virtues which are copies of the firstborn of all creation. For in him there are patterns of justice, prudence, courage, wisdom, piety, and the other virtues... In each of those who do all in their power to imitate him in this respect there is an image 'after the image of the Creator' (Col. 3, 10), which they make by looking at God with a pure heart, having become imitators of God (Mt. 5, 8; Eph. 5, 1). And speaking generally, all Christians try to set up such altars as we have mentioned, and images such as we have described... images which receive the Spirit of God, who dwells in the images of virtue which we have mentioned, and in that which is in the image of the Creator because they are related to Him. So also the Spirit of Christ sits upon those, so to speak, who are formed like him.»¹⁹⁷

A point to be noted in this passage is that the concept of contemplation and action, faith and works, as working hand in hand to

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*
¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 4, 15 (P.G., 13, 195 B).
¹⁹⁶ That is, contemplation of the Logos, not of the human Christ. Since for Origen «the flesh profits nothing» Christ's humanity has little value as a revelation or a model for imitation. See M. HART, *Origène et la Fonction Révélatrice du Verbe Incarné* (Paris: Sorbonne, 1957).
¹⁹⁷ *Contra Celsum*, 8, 17-18 (P.G., 11, 1544), tr. CHADWICK, p. 465.

from sins of acted in the cate- stics he overly change conveying the word of God effect this con-

«It is washed... your uncleanness, sins... But you, up the growths the grace God and frees its logos from the domination of the body and the animal soul. A passage from the *Contra Celsum* shows that this process requires contemplation of God in Christ «with a pure heart» — Origen customarily adds this qualification whenever there is any question of contemplation —¹⁹⁶ and that after the virtues of Christ are formed in the soul by alternating contemplation and active imitation, the Holy Spirit or the whole Trinity comes to dwell in it (a statement reminiscent of Philo):

resulting from «doing good» — which, sig- these are also ad with actions stage called Mo- tual life, roughly

in *Psalms*, Ps. 20, 11 ights. For the seed of ive idea of doing good, that expressed in the ote 31). Besides baptis- of a sinner who has ce of baptism, but that has need of the aid of , 8, 10 (P.G., 12, 503 A- , 2, 4 (P.G., 12, 417 B- ce, in which the sinner

effect purification and sanctification is much more characteristic of Origen than any pattern of mutually exclusive active and contemplative stages.¹⁹⁸ Though he delineates three stages, they each combine knowledge and prayer with work: those in the higher stages of contemplation had higher works of teaching and governing to do for others.¹⁹⁹

Baptism and laborious penance forgive sins and purify «as in from the wounds of sin, may yet remain. This is the term used in the *Eighth Homily on Leviticus* for what is elsewhere indicated by such terms as *vestigia, radices*, etc. Though they have healed, the dormant scars of spiritual leprosy—that is, the habits of sin engraved on the soul—may easily become reactivated. A white scar is a sign of *cupiditas*, concupiscence, while a red one indicates the presence of a sin unto death.²⁰⁰ In other words, even after forgiveness, habits of concupiscence and evil thoughts may remain and may again lead to sin, either lesser sins of thought or grave sins. Of the three ways of committing sin, by deed, word, or thought, sins of thought are the last to be conquered.²⁰¹ Thus the struggle against concupiscence, against evil thoughts, must play an important part in the soul's efforts at purification at all stages, but especially after the

¹⁹⁸ In *Num. hom.*, 27, 6 (P.G., 14, 737 B-D).
¹⁹⁹ The lower types of work, characteristic of the purgative or Moral stage, precede gnosis, but gnosis must then bear fruit in some such higher work of teaching, *contemplativa alius trade*, an office to be entrusted only to those who have attained a high degree of holiness as well as spiritual knowledge (In *Lev. hom.*, 6, 4 [P.G., 12, 471 D-472 A]). This is perhaps the equivalent of the office of prophets, teachers or *didaskalos*, or apostles mentioned in the *Didache* and the *Shepherd of Hermas*, which Fr. Danielou thinks refer to the same function (Theology of Jewish Christianity, Chicago, Regnery, 1964, p. 249 ff.). *Didaskalos* or «Master» is the term by which Christ was commonly addressed in the Gospels, and of course Origen himself was a *didaskalos*. According to Danielou, this group is distinguished in the earliest years of the Church from the presbyters and bishops in that it constitutes a missionary priesthood, in contrast with the stable priesthood of the latter (p. 350). He remarks, «Leaving aside the inherent character of the teaching mission, the striking thing here is the practice of the evangelic counsel.» Though Origen was not an itinerant missionary, he practiced the counsels and recommended them to others who would serve as soldiers of Christ and not entangle themselves in secular occupations (cf. 2 Tim., 2, 3, ff.) but meditate on the Law of the Lord night and day (In *Num. hom.*, 26, 2 [P.G., 12, 772 A]; *ibid.*, 25, 4 [767-768]). Cf. A. Harnack, *Mittheilung* Christ (Tübingen, 1905), pp. 26-32. And in his *Comm. on the Song of Songs* he speaks of various orders or stations in the Church: bishops, priests, deacons, laity, and lastly, «the teachers, who mix the Word and teaching of God like wine for the people (bk. 2 [P.G., 13, 107 A], tr. Lawson, p. 100). In *hom.*, 5, 2, on Numbers various forms of higher works are mentioned, including the teachers, who are equal to the Apostles; those who pray day and night, not only for themselves but for the whole people; those who know hidden mysteries, etc. (P.G., 12, 605 C ff.). Martyrdom is the highest form of works. Like the teacher, who confutes heresies and conquers vices by converting sinners, the martyr is conceived as a triumphant warrior in the battle against the spirits of evil.
²⁰⁰ In *Lev. hom.*, 8, 7 (P.G., 12, 500-501).
²⁰¹ See note 133 above.

²⁰² Cf. TAVARES-BETTE
²⁰³ *Ibid.*, ch. 4 and 5.
²⁰⁴ In *Exod. hom.*, 5.
²⁰⁵ In *Num. hom.*, 25.
²⁰⁶ In *Ps. 36, hom.*, 3.
²⁰⁷ See TAVARES-BETTE
 D-1011 A).

convert has managed the ties that bound This order also resorted to by the has found that tri predominant in the intermediate period though innate con very holy, in the co and without disqui Anthony.²⁰³ All of th effect in purifying In an effort to the Christian must tions of evil, or, if them from his he inner Egyptian: «I defiled and unclean heart or does not victory over the D that he suggests t they have entered, seen that the soul thoughts against t sistently, the evil and eventually at the arrow, the pro so that this particu concupiscence is g ducing the state of Thus it is very Origen teaches son in an allegory on t

«For example, the wife of a

convert has managed to rectify his external sinful habits and to cut the ties that bound him to his old sinful milieu.

This order also corresponds to the various kinds of temptations resorted to by the demons at different stages.²⁰² Tavares-Bettencourt

has found that trials and temptations from external circumstances predominate in the beginning stages, temptations of thought in the intermediate period in which the demons remain invisible and work through innate concupiscence, and superhuman temptations for the very holy, in the course of which the demons sometimes appear visibly and without disguise as they are said to have done in the *Life of St. Anthony*.²⁰³ All of these trials are allowed by God and have a powerful effect in purifying the soul.

In an effort to obtain purity of heart, freedom from concupiscence, the Christian must constantly strive either to reject the first sugges-

tions of evil, or, if they have been admitted and entertained, to expel them from his heart. These are the two ways of extinguishing the

inner Egyptian: «He extinguishes the Egyptian who with regard to defiled and unclean thoughts either expels (*depeilit*) them from his heart or does not receive them at all...»²⁰⁴ Elsewhere he says that

victory over the Devil consists either in repelling the evil thoughts that he suggests to the heart as they come or in killing them after they have entered, so that they are not put into effect.²⁰⁵ We have

seen that the soul that conquers temptations is said to dash its evil thoughts against the rock, Christ, and kill them. If this is done con-

sistently, the evil thought becomes blunted like an unused sword and eventually atrophies.²⁰⁶ Or, to use the metaphor of the dart or the arrow, the projectile turns back and kills the one who hurled it, so that this particular vice — and the demon who caused it — dies and

concupiscence is gradually lessened and should eventually cease, producing the state of *apatheia* or purity of heart.²⁰⁷

Thus it is very important to discern the thoughts as they come. Origen teaches some of the principles of discernment of the thoughts

in an allegory on the releasing of the scape-goat:

«For example, if an evil thought comes into your heart, a desire for the wife of another or for your neighbor's possessions, know im-

²⁰² Cf. TAVARES-BETTENCOURT, p. 47 ff.
²⁰³ *Ibid.*, ch. 4 and 5.
²⁰⁴ In Exod. hom., 5, 5 (P.G., 12, 331 B).
²⁰⁵ In Num. hom., 25, 6 (P.G., 12, 770 A).
²⁰⁶ In Ps. 36, hom., 3 (P.G., 12, 1337). See also In Librum Reg. hom., 2, 16 (P.G., 12, 1010, D-1011 A).
²⁰⁷ See TAVARES-BETTENCOURT, p. 82.

conceived as a triumphant
the teacher, who confutes
know hidden mysteries, etc.
those who pray day and
of higher works are
people (bk. 2 [P.G., 13,
ns, lately, and lately, «the
of Songs he speaks of
[...], Cf. A. HARNACK, *Militia*
the Law of the Lord might
ist and not entangle them-
the practiced the counsels
is the practice of the
marks, «Leaving aside the
is a missionary priesthood,
ished in the earliest years
and of course Origen him-
Didaskalos or «Master» is
fer to the same function
les mentioned in the Di-
A1). This is perhaps the
igh degree of holiness as
ig, *contemplata alius tra-*
oral stage, precede gnosis,

characteristic of
and contempla-
ey each combine
er stages of con-
erning to do for
nd purity «as in
citations, scars
the term used in
ere indicated by
ere caused by un-
though they have
it is, the habits of
activated. A white
red one indicates
is, even after for-
s may remain and
or grave sins. Of
or thought, sins of
ruggle against con-
portant part in the
specially after the

mediately that this is a scapegoat, cast it out swiftly and expel it from your heart.²⁰⁸

This sort of vigilant custody of the heart²⁰⁹ requires a certain freedom from secular affairs, *negotii saecularibus*. In what he calls the individual, moral application of this text, the watchful man is interpreted by Origen as the «reason itself that is within us,» i.e., the *logos, dioia*, or *hegemonikon*,

«which, even if it sees that it has become soiled while discerning and dealing with things that are evil, yet if it casts them out and expels them from its heart and flees afar off, then as if purified and washed by better thoughts, the rational mind will be seen to be clean.»

It will be noted that here as elsewhere the effects of evil thoughts are said to be cleansed away by good thoughts.²¹⁰ It also requires much reading and meditation of Scripture and the elevation of the mind in prayer, since the word of God is the principal weapon in the battle against evil thoughts and the passions. After instructing his hearers to cast out the scape-goat, Origen continues:

«How shall you cast it out? If you have a man's hand with you, that is if *lectio divina* is in your hands and the precepts of God are kept before your eyes, then truly will you be found ready to cast out and repel all things of an alien nature.»²¹¹

In late Judaism the rabbis taught that meditation on the Torah was the most efficacious means of preservation from the *yezzer hara*.²¹² The idea of maintaining purity of heart through keeping the eyes of the heart on Christ or on God and lifting up the heart to Christ in prayer and meditation of the Scriptures, which we saw in the passage on contemplation and imitation of God from the *Contra Celsum*, is also a common one in the early Christian writings. This figure denotes an actual spiritual ascent through the heavens to where Christ is seated

²⁰⁸ In Lev. hom., 9, 6 (P.G., 12, 516 A).

²⁰⁹ Origen is undoubtedly an important source for the monastic doctrine of custody of the heart against evil thoughts and of *negotii* (sobriety, watchfulness). Cf. Comm. in Math., 11, 15 (P.G., 13, 953 ff.); In Libr. Iud. hom., 8, 2 (P.G., 12, 979 D, 980 A); Fragm. in Luc., 197 (G.C.S., p. 311, 10); De Or., 29 (P.G., 11, 536 A); In Lev. hom., 9, 6 (P.G., 12, 516); Comm. in Io., 32, 2 (P.G., 14, 743 D), etc.

²¹⁰ Cf. also In Lev. hom., 5, 12 (P.G., 12, 465).

²¹¹ In Lev. hom., 9, 6 (P.G., 12, 516): «Incipiamus emendare nosmetipsos, et paulatim per continentiam et assiduum meditationem lentius iracundiam, veniamus etiam ad hoc ut ultra non irascamur.» (Hom., 2 in Psal. 36, 3 [P.G., 12, 1332 B]).

²¹² Cf. BONSIRVEN, p. 104.

at the right hand place simultaneous solve the problem of the soul or Robinson. The word o thoughts and in grasped in its d rather than as n the intermediate ment and gnosis or angels. «For, understanding w then she may b God.»²¹⁴ As for quench evil thou «But they a extinguish a They have e everlasting, strong and e thoughts enj him who tri It appears, then, roots of evil hav the demons can cupiscence or pa Origen refers to ners: «In the sar that is only a be evil thoughts and soul cannot.»²¹⁶ I frame, placed ap three stages. On stic — or realistic sibility of achiev

²¹³ Cf. 1 Cor., 3, 1; Comm. in Cant., 214
²¹⁴ De Ur., 30 (P.G., 216
²¹⁶ Comm. in Cant.,

at the right hand of the Father. Perhaps this notion that prayer takes place simultaneously within the heart and in the heavens helps to solve the problem of whether to direct prayer to God in the depths of the soul or «up there» in heaven, to use the phrase of Bishop Robinson.

The word of God will have its fullest effect in combating evil thoughts and in assimilating the soul to Christ when it is completely grasped in its deepest, most spiritual sense as meat for the strong rather than as milk for babes.²¹³ This will happen when the soul in the intermediate stage of *Naturalis* or *Physike* has achieved discernment and gnosis and no longer depends on interpretations of men or angels. «For, when her mind is filled with divine perception and understanding without the agency of human or angelic ministrations, then she may believe she has received the kisses of the Word of God.»²¹⁴ As for Clement, gnosis gives the ability to discern and to quench evil thoughts:

«But they are not set on fire who, thanks to the shield of faith, extinguish all the fiery darts hurled against them by the Evil One. They have within them fountains of water springing up into life everlasting, which prevent the fire of the Evil One from growing strong and easily extinguish it with the flood of inspired and salutary thoughts engraved by the contemplation of truth upon the soul of him who tries to be spiritual.»²¹⁵

It appears, then, that concupiscence is not yet dead, that the inner roots of evil have not yet been cut off, since the evil thoughts from the demons can affect the soul only by arousing its own innate concupiscence or passion. Yet in the *Commentary on the Song of Songs* Origen refers to evil thoughts as characteristic of «little souls,» beginners: «In the same way you can see that any little vineyard, any soul that is only a beginner, can be injured by foxes—that is to say, by evil thoughts and debased teachers—whereas a strong and perfect soul cannot.»²¹⁶ Evagrius, who set Origen's system in a more rigid frame, placed *apatheia* at the end of the *praktike*, the first of the three stages. On the whole, however, Origen was much more pessimistic—or realistic—than either Clement or Evagrius about the possibility of achieving *apatheia*. In the *Commentary on Romans* he

²¹³ Cf. 1 Cor., 3, 1-2, and Heb., 5, 12-14; *De Or.*, 27 (P.G., 11, 507 C ff.).
²¹⁴ *Comm. in Cant. Cantic.*, 1 (P.G., 13, 85), tr. LAWSON, p. 61.
²¹⁵ *De Or.*, 30 (P.G., 11, 549 A), tr. J. J. O'MEARA (A.C.W., 19, p. 129).
²¹⁶ *Comm. in Cant. Cantic.*, 4 (P.G., 13, 193).

doctrine of custody of the
 f. *Comm. in Matth.*, 11, 15
 fragm. in Luc., 197 (G.C.S.,
 12, 516); *Comm. in Jo.*, 32.

mus etiam ad hoc ut ultra
 stethippos, et paulatim per

on the Torah was
 ie *yezer hara*.²¹⁷ The
 ing the eyes of the
 to Christ in prayer
 in the passage on
intra Celsum, is also
 is figure denotes an
 ere Christ is seated

hand with you, that
 pts of God are kept
 ready to cast out and

f evil thoughts are
 also requires much
 ion of the mind in
 apion in the battle
 ucting his hearers

d while discerning
 asts them out and
 then as if purified
 and will be seen to

a certain freedom
 he calls the indi-
 nan is interpreted
 e., the *logos*, *dian-*

vily and expel it

makes *apatheia* and freedom from sin in the thoughts a characteristic of the perfect:

«It must be known that the mortification of the deeds of the flesh requires patience, that it is not a work that is accomplished immediately, but slowly. First they must become weakened in beginners in the Christian life. In those who grow in fervor and receive the Spirit more abundantly the deeds of the flesh not only weaken but begin to be extinguished. Finally, in the perfect, in whom there no longer appears any indication of sin in their acts, in their words, or in their thoughts, the deeds of the flesh are fully put to death.²¹⁷

Origen's wavering as to the possibility of sinlessness and *apatheia* has often been pointed out.²¹⁸ In the *Second Homily on Luke* he says that purity such as that attributed to Joachim and Anna, who were blameless (*amomoi*) not only in their actions and in the sight of men but in their secret thoughts known only to God, is extremely difficult yet possible.²¹⁹ On the other hand, in another homily on the Book of Josue, in the same work in which he upholds the ideal of complete *apatheia*, he describes purity of heart as conserving Jerusalem or the «vision of peace» in the heart undisturbed by evil thoughts and says it is probably impossible in this life: *Non puto cuiquam tantum in corde puritatis evenire, ut nunquam adversae cogitationis maculetur*. Just as the sons of Juda were unable to exterminate the Jebusites from Jerusalem, so that some members of this race always remained in the holy city (Josue, 15, 63), so too evil thoughts or *peccati consilia* must ever remain in the heart of the Christian, even one far advanced in the spiritual life, until the eschatological purification. Yet in concluding his homily Origen reminds his hearers that all things are possible for God and exhorts them to pray for full purity of heart.²²⁰ In the *Thirtieth Homily on Numbers* the word «probably» appears: evil thoughts (Esebon) and demons (Moab) probably (*forte*) cannot be completely cast out in this life.²²¹ In another statement he is more categorical: «No one is ever pure of demons, or free from their stimuli.»²²² In the *Twenty-Seventh Homily on Numbers* several stages in the Israelites' journey out of Egypt and through the desert are interpreted as freedom from vice

²¹⁷ *Comm. in Rom.*, 6, 14 (P.G., 12, 1102).
²¹⁸ Cf. W. Völker, *Das Vollkommenheitsideal des Origenes* (Tübingen, 1931), p. 162 ff.; Feichtwiler, pp. 206-209; see below, notes 224 and 225.
²¹⁹ *In. Luc. hom.*, 2 (G.C.S., pp. 12-18).
²²⁰ *In. Libr. Is. Nav. hom.*, 21, 2 (P.G., 12, 928-930).
²²¹ *In Num. hom.*, 13, 3 (P.G., 12, 669 D-670 A).
²²² *Comm. in Io.*, 20, 36 (G.C.S., p. 376, 9 ff.).

os concupiscence, the to one of the last, stages beyond The not mean that ev as they come, but suggestions what's The fact that it likely that Orig bably will be read saints of the Bible world to come. Tradition involved not as intended t quence of a system (ed) with practical time of their death a question of ind rather than a real At the very hig the soul, God Him quite purification, countered in the r any unworthy con for Himself alone, is symbolized by t of purgations from ous: «You see how the ear and to kee This is not t before the door o times by the priest expulsion of the se tioned in Luke, 11, «Thus, therefo by all the thi

os concupiscence, such as Raphaca, *santitas*, or healing of the capital vices; the tombs of concupiscence, which is now extinct; and, one of the last, located deep within the mystical regions and three stages beyond Thara or ecstasy, Mesoroth, or *excludens*.²²³ This does not mean that evil thoughts are excluded or shut out of the heart as they come, but that the heart is no longer conscious of any evil suggestions whatsoever.

The fact that this contradicts so many other statements makes it likely that Origen thinks of this condition as something that probably will be reached only by a few holy souls, such as the great saints of the Bible, in the present life and is usually reserved for the world to come. Tavares-Bettencourt thinks that some of the con-

tradition involved can be understood «if both opinions are considered not as intended to describe the actual situation, but as the consequence of a systematic tendency (the perfect can no longer be tempted) with practical observation (all men are in fact tempted until the time of their death).»²²⁴ And Bardy says, «*Apathia*, whether this be a question of indifference or of impeccability, is for him an ideal rather than a reality.»²²⁵

At the very highest stages, when the devils are powerless to touch the soul, God Himself sends trials, since even such holy persons require purification. This is accomplished through the difficulties encountered in the reading of Scripture,²²⁶ which lead the soul to purify any unworthy conceptions of God it might have had and to love Him for Himself alone. This purification is probably what Origen considers is symbolized by the Levitical rite of anointing the ear in the series of purgations from leprosy described in the *Eighth Homily on Leviticus*: «You see how the last and the highest purification is to purify the ear and to keep the hearing pure and clean.»²²⁷

This is not the last rite, however. The purified leper, standing before the door of the tabernacle, is now sprinkled with oil three times by the priest. Origen interprets this in two ways: either as «the expulsion of the seven evil spirits from the purified heart» as is mentioned in Luke, 11, 25, or as the coming of the sevenfold Holy Spirit.

«Thus, therefore, to the man converted from sin purification is given by all the things which we mentioned before. The gift of the grace

²²³ In Num. hom., 27, 12 (P.G., 12, 793 ff.).

²²⁴ TAVARES-BETTENCOURT, p. 86, note 149.

²²⁵ BARDY, 732-733.

²²⁶ In Num. hom., 27, 12 (P.G., 12, 799 A-C); cf. TAVARES-BETTENCOURT, p. 87.

²²⁷ In Lev. hom., 8, 11 (P.G., 12, 507 B).

s of the flesh
omplished im-
ned in begin-
or and receive
n whom there
n their words,
out to death.²²⁸
and *apathia*
Luke he says
na, who were
sight of men
mely difficult
on the Book
il of complete
Jerusalem or
thoughts and
quem tantum
ationis macu-
ate the Jebu-
race always
l thoughts or
Christian, even
ological puri-
s his hearers
n to pray for
Numbers the
emons (Moab)
this life.²²⁹ In
ever pure of
y-*Seventh Ho-*
ourney out of
from vice

of the Spirit, however, is designated by the image of the oil, so that he who is converted from sin may not only find purification, but may also be filled with the Holy Spirit; and, reconciled through all these means to the Father, may be found in the place of a son (cf. Rom., 8, 14-17), through the same Our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom is glory and dominion forever and ever, world without end. Amen.²²⁸

Thus Origen states quite clearly that his system is not mere purification, *katharsis*, but that this negative aspect, accomplished through Christ, must be completed by a positive participation in Christ and in the Holy Spirit and a reconciliation to the Father.²²⁹

In the very highest stage of purification the holiest souls receive the grace of the *theoria theou*, or contemplation of God. In this life a few privileged visionaries, «certain prophets of the Old Testament, three apostles called to ascend the Mount of the Transfiguration, Peter, to whom 'not flesh and blood, but the Father' revealed Christ's divinity», and Paul, have achieved sufficient purity of heart to see the Father in Jesus, His perfect image.²³⁰ The full realization of the beatitude, the vision face-to-face, is reserved for the next life, «where God will appear to the clean of heart.» In its highest form this vision will take place without the mediation of Christ, for the soul is now fully in Christ and has become «one spirit in the Lord,» so that it now contemplates the Father not in him but with him.²³¹

²²⁸ *Ibid.* (507 C-508 A); cf. 5, 12 (464-466). The presence of the Holy Spirit is also the cause of purification: «Purgat namque omnes sorde praesentia sancti Spiritus, remissionem tribuens peccatorum» (*Ibid.*, hom. 2, 2 [P.G., 12, 414 B]). See note 34 above.
²²⁹ See CROUZET, *Théologie de l'Image*, p. 217. The final goal of the spiritual life is to attain a full «capacity» to contain the blessed Trinity (*Péri Archon*, 1, 3, 8 [P.G., 11, 154 J]). «The idea of 'receiving God' is more important in the work of Origen than any other idea, even that of 'becoming like unto God' (*semblable à Dieu*).» It replaces, for example, almost completely the idea of 'seeing' God (HARL, p. 109, note 22). «Capacity» and «purity» act reciprocally: «Quantum capax efficitur fuerit anima, tanto purior fit» (*In Gen. hom.*, 17, 8 [P.G., 12, 260 D]) and «si quis meruerit ita puri esse cordis, ut Dei capax sit, in eo se dicit ambulare Deus» (*In Lev. hom.*, 16, 7 [P.G., 12, 574 A]). Purity and capacity for the holy Trinity are attained through the working of God's word, which brings about the absence of serious blemishes and the presence of virtues (*In Cant. 2 [P.G., 13, 139 B-C]*; *In Libr. Is. Nav. hom.*, 24, 3 [P.G., 12, 941 C]) and enlarged through the magnitude of the gnosis which the soul acquires, for everything we know exists within us (*In Luc. hom.*, 21 [G.C.S., pp. 137], 7-131). Indeed, the clean heart is an inner world, with sun, moon, and stars, which by its purity invites the Trinity to dwell within it (*In Lev. hom.*, 5, 2 [P.G., 12, 449 C-450 B]); cf. *In Libr. Is. Nav. hom.*, 5, 2 [P.G., 12, 449 C-450 B]). It is also called the Holy of Holies, which is both in the heavens and within us, since «the kingdom of Heaven is within you» (Luke, 17, 21; *In Ex. hom.*, 9, 4 [P.G., 12, 368 B-C]).
²³⁰ HARL, pp. 189 and 300-302.
²³¹ *In Exod. hom.*, 9, 4 (P.G., 12, 368 C).
²³² See Bieg, p. 170.

²³³ *In Ps. 36 hom.*, 3.
²³⁴ Origen held several being individual resurrected considered this latter pos
²³⁵ *In Lev. hom.*, 14.

Baptism of Fire, Even the holiest in the next life—O eschatological purifications of the case of the (pyr) mentioned by «It is certain and we shall of what kind into that fire, pass through Eschatological pur because of the soul and inclination to the various species the various species gatherers and take pass on. Souls which have already elevated during their life halted. The last formed by the angel of Adam and Eve and Paul, Aaron are cleansed for the fire of the Lord. burned with another own. Its fuel build on the foundation of burning depraved straw undoubtedly several other expressions

Baptism of Fire, Baptism of Blood

Even the holiest souls, however, will need a further purification in the next life—Origen sees only one exception to the necessity for an eschatological purification by fire to perfect baptism and the other purifications of the earthly life, and that, as we shall see shortly, is in the case of the martyr. This is the same «wise fire» (*phronimon pyr*) mentioned by Clement and Philo.

«It is certain that the fire which is prepared for sinners awaits us, and we shall go into that fire wherein God will try each man's work of what kind it is... Even if it be a Paul or a Peter, he shall come into that fire, but such are they of whom it is written, 'though thou pass through the fire, the flame shall not scorch thee!'²³³»

Eschatological purification is necessary not only because of sin but because of the *sordes* of concupiscence, the defilement of the flesh and inclination to evil connected with birth into the flesh.²³⁴ The entire ascent of the soul through the heavens after death is a *katharsis*, as the various species of demons of the vices act as publicans or tax-gatherers and take their toll of each vice before letting the soul pass on. Souls who are free of all vice and concupiscence and who have already elevated themselves through the heavens by prayer during their lifetime pass through all these barriers without being halted. The last obstacle is the river of fire surrounding Paradise, formed by the angels with flaming swords who blocked the return of Adam and Eve after the Fall. The holy and the perfect, like Peter and Paul, Aaron and Isaias, pass through this fire unharmed and are cleansed for the resurrection with the coals from the altar, the fire of the Lord. But sinners, «among whom I count myself», are burned with another fire within their hearts, not the Lord's but their own. Its fuel is their sins, the wood, hay, or straw which they build on the foundation of Christ (I Cor., 3, 12).²³⁵ The duration of the burning depends on the seriousness of the sins, the hay and straw undoubtedly representing words and thoughts. Origen uses several other expressions to denote variations on the same theme of

²³³ In Ps. 36 hom., 3, 1 (P.G., 12, 1337 B). Tr. in Brigg, p. 229.
²³⁴ Origen held several alternative views concerning eschatology, the most common one being individual resurrection after death rather than a general resurrection, though he also considered this latter possibility. See TAVARES-BETTENCOURT, p. 118, note 40.
²³⁵ In Lev. hom., 14, 3 (P.G., 12, 553 B-C).

f the oil, so that purification, but ciled through all place of a son Jesus Christ, to rid without end. not mere purifi- plished through n in Christ and 29 st souls receive God. In this life Old Testament, Transfiguration, revealed Christ's of heart to see realization of the next life, «where form this vision the soul is now cord,» so that it 1.22

Holy Spirit is also the Spiritus, remissionem above. spiritual life is to ar- [P.G., II, 154 J]. «The n any other idea, even example, almost com- d «purity» act recipro- hom., 17, 8 [P.G., 12, n eo se dicat ambulare the holy Trinity are at- sence of serious blem- r. Les. Nav. hom., 24, 3 op. 137]. Indeed, by its purity invites the s, which is both in the s, (Luke, 17, 21; in Ex.

the traces left by sin on the soul which will be revealed in the next life, such as *vulnera, fractura, notae et signacula, cicatrices*, etc. *Vulnera* or wounds are caused in the inner man by sins of word or of thought and desire (*jacula maligni ignita*), while fractures are caused by sins of action: *vulneratur ergo per linguam anima, vulneratur et per cogitationes et concupiscentias malas, frangitur autem et contur per opera peccati*.²³⁶ As we have seen, the *cicatrices* are scars from the wounds inflicted by sin which have been healed through penance but which can easily become malignant one more. «If we could see these things, and feel the scars (*cicatrices*) of the wounded soul, it is certain that we would resist sin unto death.»²³⁷

Origen anticipated modern psychology by teaching that the heart never really forgets anything, but that «whenever we think anything, whether it be good or evil, certain marks or impressions are left by good or bad thoughts on our hearts as on wax.» These invisible recordings will be read by God «on that day» and be judged by Christ, the evil thoughts themselves acting as accusers and the conscience giving testimony.²³⁸ They are also described as «handwriting» or as a «typos» that will be read as in an open book by all creatures.²³⁹ Even evil thoughts that have been rejected leave a certain defilement that requires eschatological purification:

«And I, even if I am able to conquer the devil, even if I can overcome the unclean and evil thoughts that he suggests to my heart either by repelling them as they come or by killing them after they have gained entrance so that they are not carried into effect, and even if I am able to crush the dragon's head underfoot, by the very fact that I have touched him who is unclean and defiled, I must necessarily become defiled and polluted myself. In a certain sense I shall overcome him, but in another sense I shall be unclean and defiled, and hence I shall be in need of purification.»²⁴⁰

Thus «as long as we are in the flesh, we cannot be entirely pure, until the eighth day comes; that is, the time of the future age.»²⁴¹ At that time holy souls will immediately be made clean. As for those who are not so holy, they will undergo painful purifications by the

²³⁶ In Numm. hom., 8, 1 (P.G., 12, 623, B-D).
²³⁷ In Libr. les. Nav. hom., 21, 2 (P.G., 12, 930 D). Cf. also *Pert Archon*, 2, 10, 4 (P.G., 11, 525 B).
²³⁸ In Libr. les. Nav. hom., 21, 2 (P.G., 12, 930 D). Cf. also *Pert Archon*, 2, 10, 4 (P.G., 11, 525 B).
²³⁹ In Libr. les. Nav. hom., 21, 2 (P.G., 12, 930 D). Cf. also *Pert Archon*, 2, 10, 4 (P.G., 11, 525 B).
²⁴⁰ In Libr. les. Nav. hom., 21, 2 (P.G., 12, 930 D). Cf. also *Pert Archon*, 2, 10, 4 (P.G., 11, 525 B).
²⁴¹ In Libr. les. Nav. hom., 21, 2 (P.G., 12, 930 D). Cf. also *Pert Archon*, 2, 10, 4 (P.G., 11, 525 B).

²⁴¹ In Libr. les. Nav. hom., 21, 2 (P.G., 12, 930 D). Cf. also *Pert Archon*, 2, 10, 4 (P.G., 11, 525 B).

²⁴⁰ In Libr. les. Nav. hom., 21, 2 (P.G., 12, 930 D). Cf. also *Pert Archon*, 2, 10, 4 (P.G., 11, 525 B).

²³⁹ In Libr. les. Nav. hom., 21, 2 (P.G., 12, 930 D). Cf. also *Pert Archon*, 2, 10, 4 (P.G., 11, 525 B).

²³⁸ In Libr. les. Nav. hom., 21, 2 (P.G., 12, 930 D). Cf. also *Pert Archon*, 2, 10, 4 (P.G., 11, 525 B).

²³⁷ In Libr. les. Nav. hom., 21, 2 (P.G., 12, 930 D). Cf. also *Pert Archon*, 2, 10, 4 (P.G., 11, 525 B).

²³⁶ In Libr. les. Nav. hom., 21, 2 (P.G., 12, 930 D). Cf. also *Pert Archon*, 2, 10, 4 (P.G., 11, 525 B).

²³⁵ In Libr. les. Nav. hom., 21, 2 (P.G., 12, 930 D). Cf. also *Pert Archon*, 2, 10, 4 (P.G., 11, 525 B).

²³⁴ In Libr. les. Nav. hom., 21, 2 (P.G., 12, 930 D). Cf. also *Pert Archon*, 2, 10, 4 (P.G., 11, 525 B).

²³³ In Libr. les. Nav. hom., 21, 2 (P.G., 12, 930 D). Cf. also *Pert Archon*, 2, 10, 4 (P.G., 11, 525 B).

²³² In Libr. les. Nav. hom., 21, 2 (P.G., 12, 930 D). Cf. also *Pert Archon*, 2, 10, 4 (P.G., 11, 525 B).

²³¹ In Libr. les. Nav. hom., 21, 2 (P.G., 12, 930 D). Cf. also *Pert Archon*, 2, 10, 4 (P.G., 11, 525 B).

²³⁰ In Libr. les. Nav. hom., 21, 2 (P.G., 12, 930 D). Cf. also *Pert Archon*, 2, 10, 4 (P.G., 11, 525 B).

²²⁹ In Libr. les. Nav. hom., 21, 2 (P.G., 12, 930 D). Cf. also *Pert Archon*, 2, 10, 4 (P.G., 11, 525 B).

²²⁸ In Libr. les. Nav. hom., 21, 2 (P.G., 12, 930 D). Cf. also *Pert Archon*, 2, 10, 4 (P.G., 11, 525 B).

²²⁷ In Libr. les. Nav. hom., 21, 2 (P.G., 12, 930 D). Cf. also *Pert Archon*, 2, 10, 4 (P.G., 11, 525 B).

²²⁶ In Libr. les. Nav. hom., 21, 2 (P.G., 12, 930 D). Cf. also *Pert Archon*, 2, 10, 4 (P.G., 11, 525 B).

²²⁵ In Libr. les. Nav. hom., 21, 2 (P.G., 12, 930 D). Cf. also *Pert Archon*, 2, 10, 4 (P.G., 11, 525 B).

²²⁴ In Libr. les. Nav. hom., 21, 2 (P.G., 12, 930 D). Cf. also *Pert Archon*, 2, 10, 4 (P.G., 11, 525 B).

²²³ In Libr. les. Nav. hom., 21, 2 (P.G., 12, 930 D). Cf. also *Pert Archon*, 2, 10, 4 (P.G., 11, 525 B).

²²² In Libr. les. Nav. hom., 21, 2 (P.G., 12, 930 D). Cf. also *Pert Archon*, 2, 10, 4 (P.G., 11, 525 B).

²²¹ In Libr. les. Nav. hom., 21, 2 (P.G., 12, 930 D). Cf. also *Pert Archon*, 2, 10, 4 (P.G., 11, 525 B).

²²⁰ In Libr. les. Nav. hom., 21, 2 (P.G., 12, 930 D). Cf. also *Pert Archon*, 2, 10, 4 (P.G., 11, 525 B).

²¹⁹ In Libr. les. Nav. hom., 21, 2 (P.G., 12, 930 D). Cf. also *Pert Archon*, 2, 10, 4 (P.G., 11, 525 B).

²¹⁸ In Libr. les. Nav. hom., 21, 2 (P.G., 12, 930 D). Cf. also *Pert Archon*, 2, 10, 4 (P.G., 11, 525 B).

²¹⁷ In Libr. les. Nav. hom., 21, 2 (P.G., 12, 930 D). Cf. also *Pert Archon*, 2, 10, 4 (P.G., 11, 525 B).

²¹⁶ In Libr. les. Nav. hom., 21, 2 (P.G., 12, 930 D). Cf. also *Pert Archon*, 2, 10, 4 (P.G., 11, 525 B).

²¹⁵ In Libr. les. Nav. hom., 21, 2 (P.G., 12, 930 D). Cf. also *Pert Archon*, 2, 10, 4 (P.G., 11, 525 B).

²¹⁴ In Libr. les. Nav. hom., 21, 2 (P.G., 12, 930 D). Cf. also *Pert Archon*, 2, 10, 4 (P.G., 11, 525 B).

²¹³ In Libr. les. Nav. hom., 21, 2 (P.G., 12, 930 D). Cf. also *Pert Archon*, 2, 10, 4 (P.G., 11, 525 B).

²¹² In Libr. les. Nav. hom., 21, 2 (P.G., 12, 930 D). Cf. also *Pert Archon*, 2, 10, 4 (P.G., 11, 525 B).

²¹¹ In Libr. les. Nav. hom., 21, 2 (P.G., 12, 930 D). Cf. also *Pert Archon*, 2, 10, 4 (P.G., 11, 525 B).

²¹⁰ In Libr. les. Nav. hom., 21, 2 (P.G., 12, 930 D). Cf. also *Pert Archon*, 2, 10, 4 (P.G., 11, 525 B).

²⁰⁹ In Libr. les. Nav. hom., 21, 2 (P.G., 12, 930 D). Cf. also *Pert Archon*, 2, 10, 4 (P.G., 11, 525 B).

²⁰⁸ In Libr. les. Nav. hom., 21, 2 (P.G., 12, 930 D). Cf. also *Pert Archon*, 2, 10, 4 (P.G., 11, 525 B).

²⁰⁷ In Libr. les. Nav. hom., 21, 2 (P.G., 12, 930 D). Cf. also *Pert Archon*, 2, 10, 4 (P.G., 11, 525 B).

²⁰⁶ In Libr. les. Nav. hom., 21, 2 (P.G., 12, 930 D). Cf. also *Pert Archon*, 2, 10, 4 (P.G., 11, 525 B).

²⁰⁵ In Libr. les. Nav. hom., 21, 2 (P.G., 12, 930 D). Cf. also *Pert Archon*, 2, 10, 4 (P.G., 11, 525 B).

²⁰⁴ In Libr. les. Nav. hom., 21, 2 (P.G., 12, 930 D). Cf. also *Pert Archon*, 2, 10, 4 (P.G., 11, 525 B).

²⁰³ In Libr. les. Nav. hom., 21, 2 (P.G., 12, 930 D). Cf. also *Pert Archon*, 2, 10, 4 (P.G., 11, 525 B).

²⁰² In Libr. les. Nav. hom., 21, 2 (P.G., 12, 930 D). Cf. also *Pert Archon*, 2, 10, 4 (P.G., 11, 525 B).

²⁰¹ In Libr. les. Nav. hom., 21, 2 (P.G., 12, 930 D). Cf. also *Pert Archon*, 2, 10, 4 (P.G., 11, 525 B).

²⁰⁰ In Libr. les. Nav. hom., 21, 2 (P.G., 12, 930 D). Cf. also *Pert Archon*, 2, 10, 4 (P.G., 11, 525 B).

¹⁹⁹ In Libr. les. Nav. hom., 21, 2 (P.G., 12, 930 D). Cf. also *Pert Archon*, 2, 10, 4 (P.G., 11, 525 B).

¹⁹⁸ In Libr. les. Nav. hom., 21, 2 (P.G., 12, 930 D). Cf. also *Pert Archon*, 2, 10, 4 (P.G., 11, 525 B).

¹⁹⁷ In Libr. les. Nav. hom., 21, 2 (P.G., 12, 930 D). Cf. also *Pert Archon*, 2, 10, 4 (P.G., 11, 525 B).

¹⁹⁶ In Libr. les. Nav. hom., 21, 2 (P.G., 12, 930 D). Cf. also *Pert Archon*, 2, 10, 4 (P.G., 11, 525 B).

¹⁹⁵ In Libr. les. Nav. hom., 21, 2 (P.G., 12, 930 D). Cf. also *Pert Archon*, 2, 10, 4 (P.G., 11, 525 B).

¹⁹⁴ In Libr. les. Nav. hom., 21, 2 (P.G., 12, 930 D). Cf. also *Pert Archon*, 2, 10, 4 (P.G., 11, 525 B).

¹⁹³ In Libr. les. Nav. hom., 21, 2 (P.G., 12, 930 D). Cf. also *Pert Archon*, 2, 10, 4 (P.G., 11, 525 B).

¹⁹² In Libr. les. Nav. hom., 21, 2 (P.G., 12, 930 D). Cf. also *Pert Archon*, 2, 10, 4 (P.G., 11, 525 B).

¹⁹¹ In Libr. les. Nav. hom., 21, 2 (P.G., 12, 930 D). Cf. also *Pert Archon*, 2, 10, 4 (P.G., 11, 525 B).

¹⁹⁰ In Libr. les. Nav. hom., 21, 2 (P.G., 12, 930 D). Cf. also *Pert Archon*, 2, 10, 4 (P.G., 11, 525 B).

¹⁸⁹ In Libr. les. Nav. hom., 21, 2 (P.G., 12, 930 D). Cf. also *Pert Archon*, 2, 10, 4 (P.G., 11, 525 B).

¹⁸⁸ In Libr. les. Nav. hom., 21, 2 (P.G., 12, 930 D). Cf. also *Pert Archon*, 2, 10, 4 (P.G., 11, 525 B).

¹⁸⁷ In Libr. les. Nav. hom., 21, 2 (P.G., 12, 930 D). Cf. also *Pert Archon*, 2, 10, 4 (P.G., 11, 525 B).

¹⁸⁶ In Libr. les. Nav. hom., 21, 2 (P.G., 12, 930 D). Cf. also *Pert Archon*, 2, 10, 4 (P.G., 11, 525 B).

¹⁸⁵ In Libr. les. Nav. hom., 21, 2 (P.G., 12, 930 D). Cf. also *Pert Archon*, 2, 10, 4 (P.G., 11, 525 B).

¹⁸⁴ In Libr. les. Nav. hom., 21, 2 (P.G., 12, 930 D). Cf. also *Pert Archon*, 2, 10, 4 (P.G., 11, 525 B).

¹⁸³ In Libr. les. Nav. hom., 21, 2 (P.G., 12, 930 D). Cf. also *Pert Archon*, 2, 10, 4 (P.G., 11, 525 B).

¹⁸² In Libr. les. Nav. hom., 21, 2 (P.G., 12, 930 D). Cf. also *Pert Archon*, 2, 10, 4 (P.G., 11, 525 B).

¹⁸¹ In Libr. les. Nav. hom., 21, 2 (P.G., 12, 930 D). Cf. also *Pert Archon*, 2, 10, 4 (P.G., 11, 525 B).

¹⁸⁰ In Libr. les. Nav. hom., 21, 2 (P.G., 12, 930 D). Cf. also *Pert Archon*, 2, 10, 4 (P.G., 11, 525 B).

¹⁷⁹ In Libr. les. Nav. hom., 21, 2 (P.G., 12, 930 D). Cf. also *Pert Archon*, 2, 10, 4 (P.G., 11, 525 B).

¹⁷⁸ In Libr. les. Nav. hom., 21, 2 (P.G., 12, 930 D). Cf. also *Pert Archon*, 2, 10, 4 (P.G., 11, 525 B).

¹⁷⁷ In Libr. les. Nav. hom., 21, 2 (P.G., 12, 930 D). Cf. also *Pert Archon*, 2, 10, 4 (P.G., 11, 525 B).

¹⁷⁶ In Libr. les. Nav. hom., 21, 2 (P.G., 12, 930 D). Cf. also *Pert Archon*, 2, 10, 4 (P.G., 11, 525 B).

¹⁷⁵ In Libr. les. Nav. hom., 21, 2 (P.G., 12, 930 D). Cf. also *Pert Archon*, 2, 10, 4 (P.G., 11, 525 B).

¹⁷⁴ In Libr. les. Nav. hom., 21, 2 (P.G., 12, 930 D). Cf. also *Pert Archon*, 2, 10, 4 (P.G., 11, 525 B).

¹⁷³ In Libr. les. Nav. hom., 21, 2 (P.G., 12, 930 D). Cf. also *Pert Archon*, 2, 10, 4 (P.G., 11, 525 B).

¹⁷² In Libr. les. Nav. hom., 21, 2 (P.G., 12, 930 D). Cf. also *Pert Archon*, 2, 10, 4 (P.G., 11, 525 B).

¹⁷¹ In Libr. les. Nav. hom., 21, 2 (P.G., 12, 930 D). Cf. also *Pert Archon*, 2, 10, 4 (P.G., 11, 525 B).

¹⁷⁰ In Libr. les. Nav. hom., 21, 2 (P.G., 12, 930 D). Cf. also *Pert Archon*, 2, 10, 4 (P.G., 11, 525 B).

¹⁶⁹ In Libr. les. Nav. hom., 21, 2 (P.G., 12, 930 D). Cf. also *Pert Archon*, 2, 10, 4 (P.G., 11, 525 B).

¹⁶⁸ In Libr. les. Nav. hom., 21, 2 (P.G., 12, 930 D). Cf. also *Pert Archon*, 2, 10, 4 (P.G., 11, 525 B).

¹⁶⁷ In Libr. les. Nav. hom., 21, 2 (P.G., 12, 930 D). Cf. also *Pert Archon*, 2, 10, 4 (P.G., 11, 525 B).

¹⁶⁶ In Libr. les. Nav. hom., 21, 2 (P.G., 12, 930 D). Cf. also *Pert Archon*, 2, 10, 4 (P.G., 11, 525 B).

¹⁶⁵ In Libr. les. Nav. hom., 21, 2 (P.G., 12, 930 D). Cf. also *Pert Archon*, 2, 10, 4 (P.G., 11, 525 B).

¹⁶⁴ In Libr. les. Nav. hom., 21, 2 (P.G., 12, 930 D). Cf. also *Pert Archon*, 2, 10, 4 (P.G., 11, 525 B).

¹⁶³ In Libr. les. Nav. hom., 21, 2 (P.G., 12, 930 D). Cf. also *Pert Archon*, 2, 10, 4 (P.G., 11, 525 B).

¹⁶² In Libr. les. Nav. hom., 21, 2 (P.G., 12, 930 D). Cf. also *Pert Archon*, 2, 10, 4 (P.G., 11, 525 B).

¹⁶¹ In Libr. les. Nav. hom., 21, 2 (P.G., 12, 930 D). Cf. also *Pert Archon*, 2, 10, 4 (P.G., 11, 525 B).

¹⁶⁰ In Libr. les. Nav. hom., 21, 2 (P.G., 12, 930 D). Cf. also *Pert Archon*, 2, 10, 4 (P.G., 11, 525 B).

¹⁵⁹ In Libr. les. Nav. hom., 21, 2 (P.G., 12, 930 D). Cf. also *Pert Archon*, 2, 10, 4 (P.G., 11, 525 B).

¹⁵⁸ In Libr. les. Nav. hom., 21, 2 (P.G., 12, 930 D). Cf. also *Pert Archon*, 2, 10, 4 (P.G., 11, 525 B).

¹⁵⁷ In Libr. les. Nav. hom., 21, 2 (P.G., 12, 930 D). Cf. also *Pert Archon*, 2, 10, 4 (P.G., 11, 525 B).

¹⁵⁶ In Libr. les. Nav. hom., 21, 2 (P.G., 12, 930 D). Cf. also *Pert Archon*, 2, 10, 4 (P.G., 11, 525 B).

¹⁵⁵ In Libr. les. Nav. hom., 21, 2 (P.G., 12, 930 D). Cf. also *Pert Archon*, 2, 10, 4 (P.G., 11, 525 B).

¹⁵⁴ In Libr. les. Nav. hom., 21, 2 (P.G., 12, 930 D). Cf. also *Pert Archon*, 2, 10, 4 (P.G., 11, 525 B).

¹⁵³ In Libr. les. Nav. hom., 21, 2 (P.G., 12, 930 D). Cf. also *Pert Archon*, 2, 10, 4 (P.G., 11, 525 B).

¹⁵² In Libr. les. Nav. hom., 21, 2 (P.G., 12, 930 D). Cf. also *Pert Archon*, 2, 10, 4 (P.G., 11, 525 B).

¹⁵¹ In Libr. les. Nav. hom., 21, 2 (P.G., 12, 930 D). Cf. also *Pert Archon*, 2, 10, 4 (P.G., 11, 525 B).

¹⁵⁰ In Libr. les. Nav. hom., 21, 2 (P.G., 12, 930 D). Cf. also *Pert Archon*, 2, 10, 4 (P.G., 11, 525 B).

¹⁴⁹ In Libr. les. Nav. hom., 21, 2 (P.G., 12, 930 D). Cf. also *Pert Archon*, 2, 10, 4 (P.G., 11, 525 B).

¹⁴⁸ In Libr. les. Nav. hom., 21, 2 (P.G., 12, 930 D). Cf. also *Pert Archon*, 2, 10, 4 (P.G., 11, 525 B).

¹⁴⁷ In Libr. les. Nav. hom., 21, 2 (P.G., 12, 930 D). Cf. also *Pert Archon*, 2, 10, 4 (P.G., 11, 525 B).

¹⁴⁶ In Libr. les. Nav. hom., 21, 2 (P.G., 12, 930 D). Cf. also *Pert Archon*, 2, 10, 4 (P.G., 11, 525 B).

¹⁴⁵ In Libr. les. Nav. hom., 21, 2 (P.G., 12, 930 D). Cf. also *Pert Archon*, 2, 10, 4 (P.G., 11, 525 B).

¹⁴⁴ In Libr. les. Nav. hom., 21, 2 (P.G., 12, 930 D). Cf. also *Pert Archon*, 2, 10, 4 (P.G., 11, 525 B).

¹⁴³ In Libr. les. Nav. hom., 21, 2 (P.G., 12, 930 D). Cf. also *Pert Archon*, 2, 10, 4 (P.G., 11, 525 B).

¹⁴² In Libr. les. Nav. hom., 21, 2 (P.G., 12, 930 D). Cf. also *Pert Archon*, 2, 10, 4 (P.G., 11, 525 B).

¹⁴¹ In Libr. les. Nav. hom., 21, 2 (P.G., 12, 930 D). Cf. also *Pert Archon*, 2, 10, 4 (P.G., 11, 525 B).</

fire of Gehenna that will last many ages.²⁴² Their sins will not be purified in the present world or in the world to come, but they will be purified in the third age, just as under the Levitical laws the mother of a girl child had to wait two weeks before being purified.²⁴³ We have said that the martyr was an exception to the general rule that all souls must pass through the eschatological baptism of fire. This is because his baptism of blood accomplished the same effects. As Christianity is essentially for Origen the imitation and participation of Christ for the sake of a return to union with the Father, martyrdom, which most closely follows the way of Christ, is the highest perfection. This is the general belief of the Christianity of his time. But Origen had his own reasons for some aspects of this belief, which are summarized by E. Tavares-Bettencourt:

«The adversaries retain a hold in the territory of the soul until it drives them out; and this will never be perfectly accomplished as long as the soul is joined to the body. In the passion of a martyr, however, the demons, by a supreme effort, rouse up these bodily senses and feelings in an attempt to turn the soul away from its goal in the most complete way possible, that is, through an *alogos* profession. If the effort fails, all the bodily stimuli, together with the instruments of extraordinary diabolical industry, will be left without power against the soul, and that permanently, after the body itself is destroyed. The victory of the soul is definitive, and the demons are considered to have been despoiled of one of the members of their body, the body of sin.»²⁴⁴

His body destroyed in this supreme sacrifice, the martyr is spotless, *amomos*,²⁴⁵ with no more *sordes corporis* or *sordes peccati*. Thus the baptism of blood has the same effect as the baptism of fire and takes its place: the martyr goes through the ascetical and heavenly stages of purification simultaneously, and, following the path marked out by Christ, comes through all the barriers unscathed to return to the Father. Hence these two «baptisms» are more radically purificatory than the original and basic baptism with water and the holy spirit or than penance, which Origen comes close to calling the «baptism of tears», a name actually used in later Eastern spirituality.²⁴⁶

²⁴² Comm. in Rom., 8, 12 (P.G., 14, 1198 A-B).
²⁴³ In Lev. hom., 8, 4 (P.G., 12, 497 A-B).
²⁴⁴ TAVARES-BETTENCOURT, p. 114.
²⁴⁵ Exhort. ad Mart., 30 ed. P. KOERTSCHAU (G.C.S., p. 27, 11-14).
²⁴⁶ In Libr. Iud. hom., 7, 2 (P.G., 12, 980 B-C). In this passage Origen is explicitly comparing only the baptism of blood and the baptism of water, but what he says also applies to the other two «baptisms».

²⁴⁷ In Lev. hom., 2, 10, 4 (P.G., 11, 525 B).
²⁴⁸ In Lev. hom., 2, 10, 4 (P.G., 11, 525 B).

be entirely pure, future age.»²⁴¹ At

ven if I can over-
 ggest to my heart
 g them after they
 d into effect, and
 d defiled, I must
 in a certain sense
 ll be unclean and
 n.»²⁴⁰

led in the next
 itices, etc. Vul-
 s of word or of
 ures are caused
 a, vulneratur et
 uitum et conter-
 trices are scars
 healed through
 e more. «If we
 of the wounded
 1.»²³⁷
 g that the heart
 think anything,
 sions are left by
 ese invisible re-
 judged by Christ,
 l the conscience
 idwilling» or as
 all creatures.²³⁹
 ertain dilemma

Admitted to the vision of God, the martyr will enjoy some privileges that others lack. For Origen makes a great deal of the text, «In my Father's house there are many mansions» (Jn., 14, 2).²⁴⁷ In the end only the pure in heart will see God; others who are less pure will see angels.²⁴⁸ Apparently these differences apply even after the consummation of all things, so that it is possible to be saved but not to enjoy the beatific vision.²⁴⁹ This doctrine certainly provided a motive for seeking purity of heart.

Yet things were very fluid in the Origenian universe, and other texts suggest that souls might progress from mansion to mansion until at the end of time, according to Origen's famous doctrine of *apokatastasis*, when God is «all in all», the *rationalis mens* will be purified from the dregs of the vices and the inner clouds of malice, so that the soul can think only of God.²⁵⁰ But apostasy from even this state is perhaps possible: Origen was never able to reconcile the two notions of ultimate universal salvation and the limitless freedom of spiritual beings.

In conclusion, we see that Origen carried on the identification of the Christian doctrine of purity of heart with Stoic *apatheia* which had been begun by Clement. It is possible that they had earlier Christian precedents for this concept of purity of heart, since Barnabas and Hermas taught that Christians should become as pure and innocent as little children.²⁵¹ Though probably not meant to be taken literally and with the absolute logic of Greek philosophy, these statements could perhaps mean being without sexual feeling and might explain Barnabas' despair of attaining full purity of heart until the «eighth day».²⁵² Moreover, Hermas is blamed for what seems to have been a rather innocent thought with regard to his mistress.²⁵³ And the attainment of sexlessness, the disappearance of any distinction between male and female, was an ideal for some Christians as well as for certain Gnostics.²⁵⁴ At any rate, by over-simplifying the exigencies of the Gospel regarding purity of heart into the categories of Greek philosophy and interpreting it with regard to the passions, Origen engaged himself and those who came under his influence in

²⁴⁷ For example, in *Lev. hom.*, 14, 3 (P.G., 12, 555 B-C).
²⁴⁸ In *Num. hom.*, 11, 4 (649 C); in *Luc. hom.*, 3 (G.C.S., pp. 20-21).
²⁴⁹ Cf. *Orig.*, p. 234, note 1.
²⁵⁰ *Peri Archon*, 3, 6, 3 (P.G., 11, 336 A).
²⁵¹ See *The Monastic Concept of Purity of Heart*, I, pp. 28-29.
²⁵² *Ibid.*, pp. 30-31.
²⁵³ *Vis.*, I, 8, ed. LARZ, p. 8.
²⁵⁴ Cf. above, note 69.

a false and unrealistic attempt to banish all evil motions from the heart, while Clement went farther and included in his ideal the elimination of all feeling and emotion whatsoever. The unreality of this search for *apathia* did not seem to trouble Clement, but it led Origen to make contradictory statements about the possibility of achieving purity of heart in this life.

The adoption of Platonic *katharsis*, the process of delivering the soul from the body, though it has some slight Scriptural justification in St. Paul's opposition of spirit and flesh, was another source of partial falsification of the Christian doctrine of purity of heart, since it went far beyond the Pauline doctrine in tending to consider the body and matter as sources of evil; this tendency was greatly offset, however, by the necessity of retaining and repeating the orthodox Christian teaching of the inherent goodness of the body, marriage, and all creation.

Along with these Greek influences there is a strong emphasis in Origen on the role of the demons of the vices and of «evil thoughts», which are typically Jewish-Christian concepts. Hence Tavares-Bettencourt judges that «In this Adamantius' ascetic doctrine differs from the tenets of the Stoics and even from the earlier Alexandrians, who especially stress the psychological aspect of virtues and vices... In these matters Adamantius yields less to the Greek spirit, abstract and intellectual, and owes more to the vital and dynamic way of looking at things that is proper to Revelation.»²⁵⁵

All these influences went into the monastic concept of «purity of heart», which, at least in what has been called «learned monasticism», undoubtedly owes a great deal to Clement of Alexandria and to Origen.

(To be continued.)

JUANA RAASCH O.S.B.

Convent of St. Benedict,
St. Joseph, Minnesota.

some pri-
f the text,
4, 2).²⁴ In
less pure
after the
saved but
provided
and other
o mansion
doctrine of
ens will be
of malice,
from even
reconcile the
ss freedom
identification
theia which
earlier Chri-
e Barnabas
ure and in-
to be taken
these state-
and might
urt until the
ems to have
stress.²⁵⁵ And
distinction
ians as well
the exigen-
categories of
he passions,
influence in